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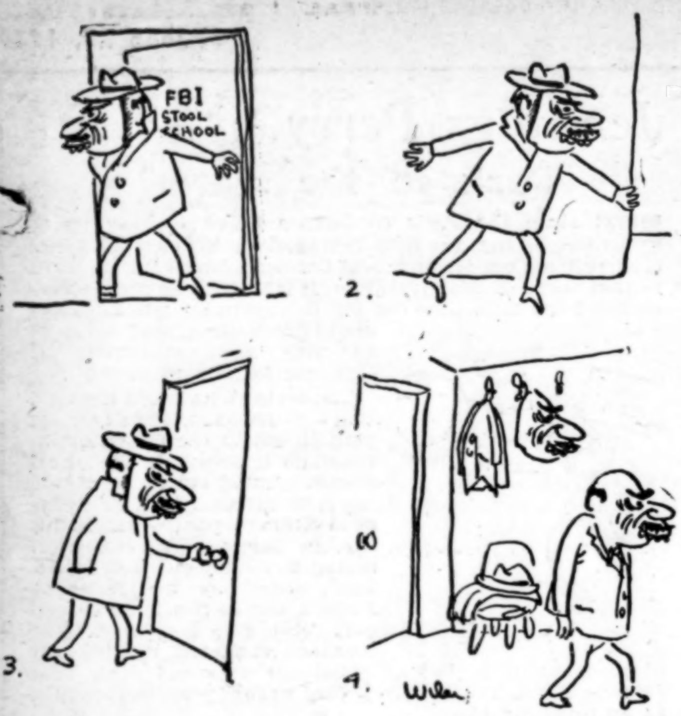

Drawing by Walter Iler

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PAUL ROBESON

'I bring a message of love from Europe'

THE road has been long. The road has been hard. It began about as tough as I ever had it—in Princeton, New Jersey, a college town of Southern aristocrats who in Revolutionary times transferred Georgia to New Jersey. My brothers could not go to high school in Princeton. They had to go to Trenton, ten miles away.

Trenton, of the Trenton Six. My brother, or I, could have been one of the Trenton Six.

It is because of this that I fight, with all the energy at my command, for the right of the Negro people and all other oppressed, labor-driven Americans to have decent homes, decent jobs, and the dignity that belongs to every human being.

The memories

Somewhere in my childhood, these feelings were planted. Perhaps when I resented being pushed off the sidewalk, when I saw my women being insulted, and especially when I saw my elder brother answer each insult with blows that sent would-be slave masters crashing to the stone sidewalks, even though jail was his constant reward.

My brother told me day after day: "Don't you ever take it as long as you live." I have never taken it. I have never accepted an inferior role because of my race or color, and by God, I never will. That explains my life. I am looking for freedom, full freedom, not an inferior brand.

This explains my feeling toward the Soviet Union, where I for the first time walked this earth in complete human dignity: a dignity denied me at the Columbia of Medina, denied me everywhere in my native land, despite all the protestations about freedom, equality, constitutional rights, and the sanctity of the individual.

Defiant challenge

..I entered the struggle for peace and freedom with Wallace in 1948. During the campaign I stood on the very soil on which my father was a slave, where later cousins are sharecroppers and unemployed tobacco workers.

I reflected upon the wealth bled from my relatives alone, and on the very basic wealth of all this America beaten out of millions of the Negro people, enslaved, freed, newly enslaved until this very day. And I defied and today I defy any part of an insolent, dominating America, however powerful. I defy any errand boys, Uncle Toms of the Negro people. I challenge this vicious system to the teeth.

PAUL ROBESON IN PRAGUE
The people sang of peace

I have traveled many lands and have sung and talked to many peoples. My role was in no sense personal. I represented to these people Progressive America, fighting for peace and freedom; and I bring back to America the promise of their strength to aid us and their gratefulness for our struggle here. They beg us to send more progressive Americans — Wallace, Marcantonio, trade unionists, Negro and white — and they all sent special messages to the Negro people, assuring them of their support of the liberation of Negro people everywhere.

These understand

My last weeks were spent in the countries to the east, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union. Here thousands of people—men, women and children—cried to me to thank Progressive America for sending one of its representatives; begged me to take back so much love, so much understanding of the suffering of their Negro brothers

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MAILBAG

Fiorello knew

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I submit a brief sentence from an article by the late F. H. LaGuardia written as Congress considered the Truman Doctrine. I trust that his honest words may strengthen the readers' determination to force our government to abandon its very mistaken and unjust policy toward Greece:

"The plan presented to Congress . . . ignores the need for applying fundamental measures to correct existing evils and centers on the elimination of opposition either through starvation or destruction."

A. Garcia Diaz

•

2d thoughts best

MOORESTOWN, N. J.

When the GUARDIAN first came I thought I would not renew when this subscription runs out. I am, however, so much interested in your paper that I feel I must renew. And later I may send it to some others. Please let me know when it expires.

Susan E. W. Spencer

P.S.—On second thought, I'll send you a dollar now for an extension of my subscription.

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Heading? It's here!

PORTLAND, ORE.

The article "Is America Heading for Fascism?" prompts this reply. It is not "heading for fascism"; fascism is now upon us. Ponder this:

Rather than admit that our system—the economy of scarcity—cannot distribute sufficient buying power to keep our wheels of industry turning, except when engaged in war and mass destruction of our ablest young men and our material resources, our economic royalists are determined to create a situation assuring another war.

The heroic effort put forth by the GUARDIAN to bring economic understanding to our distraught masses is the one ray of hope for world peace.

C. K. Chilberg

•

People's money

ALGER, MICH.

Re **Tomorrow's Money**—taking the power to coin and regulate our money out of the hands of the bankers is a cardinal point in any program to restore power and government to the masses.

We could have fought the last war without a cent of debt, and we can give $100 per month old age pensions, build roads, schools hospitals and libraries, produce all the power we can use, harness every river and build 25,000 lakes and do not have to issue a bond.

If the government's word is good for a $100 interest-bearing bond, for which you or I pay $75 and the Federal Reserve System not a darned cent, it is good enough to issue a $100 greenback and to pay it into circulation.

F. R. Wilson

•

How about ads?

PORTLAND, ME.

And so why shouldn't the GUARDIAN accept—even go after—advertising of an acceptable type (individuals, small firms which couldn't be accused of subsidizing or influencing the paper?)

Much advertising is interesting, might make another "department," and the additional funds could be used to expand the GUARDIAN or to provide free subscriptions. And, when the GUARDIAN has 500,000 subscribers, which is not far off, it will be a valuable advertising medium.

Ray Gailey

•

Don't point . . .

MADISON, WIS.

I have enjoyed reading your periodical but would like to see more facts and less editorializing. I know from talking to my friends that in many cases they would draw the same conclusions as you are trying to convey but object to having your articles so pointed. Other friends refuse even to look at the GUARDIAN since they consider it as dogmatic in presenting the left as the **Chicago Tribune** in presenting the right.

O. D. Gray

•

Just as we are

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I wish to add my voice to the chorus of those who entreat you NOT to encumber your paper with extraneous sports news, comics and what not in imitation of run-of-the-mill newspapers. Who buys your paper gets 50 cents' worth of solid value for a nickel and can afford another nickel for sports or comics if he wants them.

The Mail Bag is particularly, amazingly fine.

Margaret A. Fellows

•

Pots and Perry

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Jennings Perry seems to get better and better. I would also like you to know that I particularly enjoy the flavor of "Pots and Pocketbooks" by Charlotte Parks.

Dorothy Mann

•

Horatius E. Dewey

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Last autumn when he campaigned for the presidency, Governor Dewey asked for unity. What is Dewey unity? Acquiescence in Dewey opinion. In education, silence among teachers.

That's the Dewey ideal teacher. The Dewey-Feinberg Law requires the Board of Regents of the State of New York to draw up a list of so-called subversive organizations, the members of which—if teachers—shall be dropped from any teaching position in the state. The making of this list is solely within the discretion of the Board. This law was condemned by both the New York **Herald Tribune** and the New York **Times**. No matter. It pleases the present day Horatius who stands guard at the bridge of education.

Ernest S. Quimby

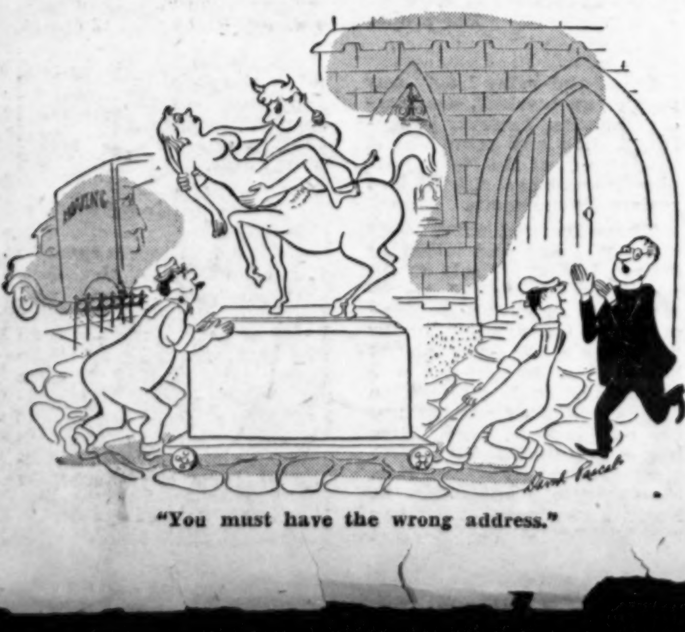
•

Well, Mr. Acheson?

LEMONT, ILL.

Suppose the Communists should win a majority vote in Italy in the future as we feared—and took pains by political, business and religious interference to prevent in the 1948 elections; would we now be obligated to use FORCE also in our meddling in the internal affairs of Italy and other signatory nations?

Mary Phillips Buckner



"You must have the wrong address."

Jennings Perry

Back to the storm?

EVER since the Paris conference failed to blow up as predicted, the fee-fi-fo-fum section of our press has been trotting out its unnamed "western diplomats" to warn us that the Cold War is still on. It is as if these people have resented the little time out for talking peace and now fear above everything that some of us may have mistaken the entr'acte for the main show.

The main show is still the Cold War—as Lt. Gen. Bedell Smith pointed out to the Governors at Colorado Springs, as Sen. Karl Mundt pointed out to the Kiwanians at Atlantic City, as President Truman ponted out in his foreign policy statement after seeing Secretary Acheson home. True, some hay was made at Paris, a wisp or two, but that was only because we were "firm." The Russians conceded nothing out of reasonableness, but only because we stood firm, with force in sight. They remain very awful, predatory people, as we must not forget. . . .

AS if something yet were needed to recapture our truant attention, Secretary of Defense Johnson has given with the news that we are souping up two of our carriers for $80,000,000 worth to handle planes capable of freighting atom bombs. Our security and the peace, Mr. Johnson quaintly reminds us, depend on our ability to dump A-bombs on far away places with strange sounding names.

Something yet is indeed needed, I think, to repair the interrupted rhythm of the Cold War. We have not in fact turned back to it promptly, with alacrity, with the same old zest. The familiar newspaper alarums have a hollow sound. A coastguardsman in a lighthouse on the Florida coast saw something Tuesday that looked mighty like a strange submarine snooping, but this time the public generally did not panic. Nobody has seen a saucer flying for weeks. . . . All this is rather significant.

It could be that we need more of a vacation from the chore of fear than we have had the past month. Otherwise how explain that the trail of the Cold War itself has cooled in so short a time?

ADMITTEDLY a peace with Austria was not much to bring back from Paris. (We hardly knew Austria was in the war.) Admittedly a new Berlin incident can be twirled up at any appropriate moment. The fact remains that the American people are showing signs of increasing weariness with our noisy prosecution of the Cold War abroad, and with the spy hunts, book burnings and loyalty scandals which are manifestations of the Cold War at home. The fact is that despite all the official hedging that preceded, accompanied and now follows the meeting at Paris we **prefer** to believe that talking across a table is more important than military pacts or than Mr. Johnson's new bomber boats.

The barkers of the Cold War are not going to find it so easy to get the people back into their tent. We have had a breath of better air. If we count Paris for more than it was worth, the extra weight in the scales is hope. We could have come away with something gaudier—"victories" to crow about—and fared worse. Our taste for diplomatic toughness and military bravura is somewhat jaded: we can do nicely with a sizeable slice of live and let live right through here.

Live and let live is not a formula for triumphs but it is a formula for existence. Some call it the Golden Rule.

Feeling of millions

EVANSTON, ILL.

"In Every Port, Wallace Means 'Welcome'!" (June 6) is a splendid story. I hope it will be reprinted widely. It expresses the feelings of millions of people all over the world.

"The London Coke Party—Revolt in the Colonies"—I wish we could have more articles like that. I had a letter from England a few days ago that would support your article. My friend said that the English sense for fair play came out so that those who did not agree with Eisler's ideas as well as those who did were very much aroused to see that he had fair play. The feeling toward America was not improved when the English heard the story of the treatment of Eisler over here.

Helen Miller

•

From bad to Hearst

MAPLE PARK, ILL.

I will wager that about 90% of the public do not believe half of what the daily rags, misnamed newspapers, print. "You cannot fool all the people all the time." And some day these newspaper tycoons will wake up and find the public has forsaken them altogether and depends upon small individual publications for their information.

Charles E. Geiger

•

Anti-blackout

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Right now, I would guess that the GUARDIAN is the finest publication of its kind in the country. And it is a vitally important one, in view of the nationwide blackout on any facts which go against the aims of whatever people control the radio and press.

Irwin Grace

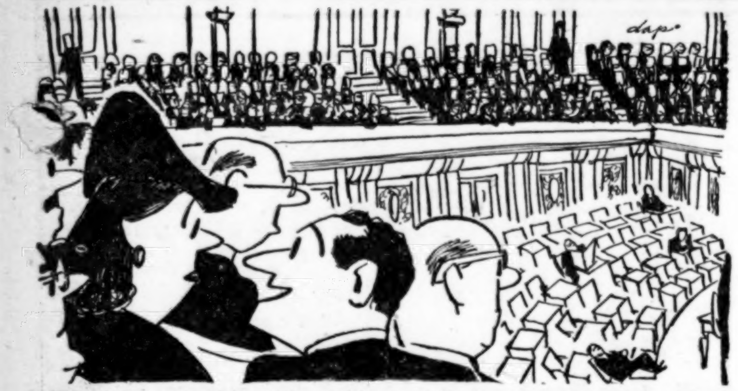
•

Fascism in action

CHICAGO, ILL.

I think it highly import[illegible] to mention that **Fascism [illegible] Action**, a government pamphlet, is available free through our representatives in Congress.

Dr. R. R. Sackley



"Must be something big coming up in the Senate today. There are at least 14 senators on the floor."

Vito Marcantonio

Fake liberals are fronts for American fascists

By Vito Marcantonio
U.S. Representative

I AM going to quote chapter and verse from the record of the 81st Congress to document my charge that ADA liberals and Reuther - Carey - Murray type labor leaders are liberal fronts for the fascist movement in America.

Disgusted by broken promises, the people are more and more leaving the two old parties. The job the pseudo-liberals are doing for reaction is to try and drive a wedge between the disillusioned masses and the Progressive Party. Between now and 1950 they may project a new political party for this purpose.

GAS FUMES: On one issue after another, the "compromising liberals" in the Congress played a role which ensured defeat of the whole program for which the people voted.

On the question of changing Senate filibuster rules, vital in the civil rights issue, talk came from Lucas, representing the President. It came from Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Douglas (D-Ill.) They said we could not get anything better.

The result was something worse—instead of ⅔ of those present being able to stop a filibuster, now it requires a constitutional ⅔, or 64 votes. The Murrays were willing to compromise on civil rights provided they could get a deal on Taft-Hartley, instead of fighting without compromise on both.

SITTING CONTEST: When I tried to recommit various appropriations bills by offering an amendment that no discrimination be used in spending the money, Republican and Democratic leadership united not only to defeat my motions but to prevent a record vote.

I have seen the so-called liberals like Helen Douglas and Chet Hollifield and all these people remain sitting when I made a request for a record vote. Never in these fights for civil rights amendments have I had support from these so-called liberals who are now trying to take into their camp the masses of the people.

The fight on civil rights has been a complete sellout, double dealing, double crossing. From the Republicans we expected that. From Truman and his crowd the masses of the people did not expect it, but we did. But the main sellout has come from the leaders of labor, the Murrays and Careys.

VITO MARCANTONIO

DIXIE LAUGHTER: On Taft-Hartley, Rep. Javits announced the idea of plant seizures, and Humphrey and Douglas, champions of labor last year, are backing the plant-seizure idea. These so-called liberals know there is no difference between that and injunctions.

I know that when I offered my amendment for outright Taft-Hartley repeal, I was speaking for the overwhelming majority of the people. We got only 37 votes. It was opposed by the Speaker of the House, speaking for the President, and by every so-called liberal; the CIO's Carey, the Textile Workers' Edelman and Steelworkers' Hoffman told Congressmen over the phone to vote No.

Then came the Sims bill, Taft-Hartley all over again. Murray was silent; union legislative representatives (except the left wing) called out Congressmen and told them to vote Yes. All the so-called liberals in Congress got up and said: "After all, isn't all legislation compromise?" And the Republicans laughed, as well as the Dixie Democrats, because it showed such a cowardly surrender.

WE WON'T COMPROMISE: On the housing front they are doling out housing with an eye dropper. The question to be determined is whether we will have housing without segregation or under jimcrow conditions. When an amendment against jimcrow was offered in the Senate, Douglas and Humphreys spoke against it.

They said we must be practical. But if so-called liberals cannot stand up and fight for American housing without segregation, but must surrender in order to get 810,000 units in six years when we need 500,000 a year, I say the situation is very tragic for American democracy.

DOUBLE TALK: They will say I do not want housing because I fight for housing without segregation. They will say that I do not want repeal of Taft-Hartley because I fight for outright repeal of Taft-Hartley. That will be the devious line followed. But as a party that will not compromise, we have a tremendous opportunity to take that issue and use it to expose the fakers.

We are rapidly approaching decisive struggles; decisions made today will effect this generation and several to come. I have always had an abiding faith in the intelligence of my fellow-countrymen, and I know that we will win.

Progressive Party

The No. 1 job: Build for 1950 Congress elections

DURING a two-day meeting last week-end the national committee of the Progressive Party reviewed the record of the present Administration and the 81st Congress, found both totally wanting, and drafted its own counter-program of action to protect the peace of the world and the needs of the American people.

Atlantic Pact politics were described as "ruinous" and leading to a world-wide depression. State Parties were urged to bring all possible pressure to bear on senators, in the form of letters, petitions and delegations, in a last-minute drive against Pact ratification.

Democratic deals on the Taft-Hartley Law were denounced as a "sell-out" of campaign pledges. Progressives pledged themselves to fight any version of Taft-Hartley legislation until "the fact and spirit of the Wagner Act is restored."

ON HARRY'S DOORSTEP: President Truman himself was blamed for current attacks on traditional freedoms: "The poison that infects the free air of America emanates from the White House itself." The President's parallel between the Alien and Sedition Laws of Jefferson's time and current hysteria was derided as poor history: "The hysteria of the 1790's did not 'die out.' The instigators of the hysteria were driven out by the votes of aroused Americans who elected the 'Jacobin' Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency. We are confident that if the Progressive Party carries on in the noble tradition of Jefferson, we too will drive out the authors of this new hysteria. . . . "

Failure of the Administration to fight for its own civil rights legislation was described as "abject betrayal." After listing the mounting crimes against Negroes, the resolution on this subject directed all state organizations to adopt a detailed 7-point program of action aimed at "ending, in the years immediately ahead, the shameful practices of segregation, discrimination and jimcrow oppression in our great land."

IT'S FULL-BLOWN: Lengthiest document adopted by the committee meeting was one on Unemployment and the Gathering Economic Crisis, which declared that "a full-blown depression is under way in the United States." After reviewing the policies that led to this economic breakdown, the resolution recommended six immediate measures to stave off mass want. (GUARDIAN, June 20).

State parties were directed to call state Action Conferences against Unemployment and Depression. The national committee itself announced a National Conference to be held the week following Labor Day "to prepare a long-range program to fight the depression."

Other actions included a unanimous invitation to Congressman Vito Marcantonio to make a cross-country speaking tour under PP auspices, and a unanimous vote to advise PP members in New Jersey not to sign the new loyalty oaths required of teachers, lawyers and public officials in that state. Progressives there will run a candidate for Governor, it was announced.

EYES ON 1950: Analyzing economic and political trends, the national committee felt that by November, 1950, objective conditions would exist for election to Congress of PP candidates in many districts. These possibilities arise from growing disillusionment with the two old parties; demonstration by events of the correctness of the PP program; growing economic crisis, and mounting evidence of the bankruptcy of the cold war policy.

It was agreed that election of PP candidates in 1950 was already a major objective, for which the necessary organizing job must be started now. First requirement of this job was a struggle for immediate needs on the issues most directly concerning the people.

"CONCENTRATION" WATCHWORD: Building of solid political organizations in all or even a majority of congressional districts where victory is possible was "utterly impractical" with the resources and forces now available. Realization of PP potential in 1950 therefore meant adoption of, and adherence to, a thoroughly considered concentration policy by both state organizations and the national office.

It was decided that each state organization should nominate a candidate in at least one district in the state. In states where more than one congressional candidate could be effectively concentrated on, it was vital above all to avoid scattering of resources, forces and energies.

The tactical questions of supporting or opposing old party candidates in particular districts, and of nominating candidates for the Senate or for state offices, were left to later consideration in light of developments in the next 12 months.

WALLACE

Be steadfast

An excerpt from remarks by Henry A. Wallace to the National Committee:

IT is very important for all of us to get firmly in our minds that it is not un-American to be left. As a matter of fact, the truest Americanism is well to the left of center. That's what the Declaration of Independence was. Fundamentally this America of ours is a leftist country. Now events are coming around to meet us and we should be steadfast.

I want to emphasize as I have again and again, inside the Administration and out, that we will never find the means to keep the people of the U.S. fully employed without fear of war until we look for markets as much in eastern Europe and Russia and China as any place else. If we have markets there, we can have a gross national product of $280,000,000,000. We can buy and sell products in vast volume: we can have the continual enrichment that comes from the interchange of knowledge all over the world. It is the only way out of this mess in terms of abundance. The only way to enable capitalism to survive and prevent it from being a scarcity system is to go all out on one-world trade. It means full employment, a high standard of living, peace. I think it can be sold.

Bundles of sample issues of the GUARDIAN are available at no cost. If you want sample copies to distribute, simply write to Business Dept., National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

Debate

Henry Wallace will debate with Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer on the topic "How Can We Keep America Prosperous?" on the American Forum of the Air June 27, 10 to 10:30 p.m., on WOR-Mutual. The broadcast will mark Wallace's first debate on a national issue since before the November election.

Struggle in Czechoslovakia

Crisis in the Church -- This is the real story

By George Wheeler

PRAGUE

THE struggle between the Roman Catholic Church and the new democracies of Eastern Europe moved into high gear in Czechoslovakia on Sunday, June 19, when an anti-government sermon by Archbishop Beran was interrupted by hecklers in St. Vitus' Cathedral, Prague. On the same day "a Vatican source" predicted that Beran and Yugoslavia's Stepinac, now serving a jail term for treason which he made no serious attempt to deny, would shortly be made Cardinals.

In Czechoslovakia the Catholic Church, now "defending religious freedom," changed the nation by force from nine-tenths Protestants to nine-tenths (now about three-fourths) Catholic; not until 1918 were the Czech Brethren, followers of the great Protestant Hus, allowed to worship legally.

The Church helped the Austro - Hungarian monarchy to govern when Czechoslovakia was in that empire. Priests served in the government of the first Republic after World War I. The Church did not discipline priests for collaborating with the Nazi occupation forces (although many brave priests, including Beran himself, spent the war years in concentration camps).

THAT WAS DIFFERENT: But in May, 1948, the Council of Bishops for the first time exercised the power it always had to forbid priests to serve as government officials. That was three months after the Communists came into the dominating position in the government.

Joseph Plojhar, a priest who spent the war in Dachau and is now Health Minister, told me at that time that the Bishops' declaration could be ignored since the "highest church authority" had given him permission to participate in the government. He said the Church had been consulted more often on pending legislation between February and May, 1948, than ever before.

But as soon as Plojhar was elected, he was suspended from exercise of his priestly functions and made subject to excommunication if he did not withdraw from the government within six months. (Unrepentant, he promptly invited Italian Communist leader Togliatti and Frau Thaelmann, widow of the German Communist leader, to recover their health in Czech spas).

HEATING UP THE WAR: Just before Plojhar's suspension, Bishop Stephen Trochta of Litomerice had issued a bulletin on progress of negotiations between the church and the Central Action Committee. Questions of compensation for divided-up church estates, of making church schools an exception to school nationalization, and of state contribution to the clergy's salaries, were at that time headed for solution. Since then there has been no progress.

FATHER PLOJHAR

Fathers Horek and Lukacovic of Slovakia and other priests were also suspended for accepting posts in the government.

From the fall of 1948 through spring of 1949, tension heightened between government and hierarchy. Catholic youth leaders were arrested for contacting foreign agents; church officials were sentenced for smuggling money and people across the border; evidence of black - marketeering by the Archbishop's estate managers was brought to light.

SIGNS OF SANITY: At the same time the government got the ear of the lower clergy, who were repeatedly reminded that their salaries would under government proposals be raised to the same as civil servants of equal rank. On June 10 a large meeting held in Prague issued a statement calling for church-state agreement: "As good citizens of a people's democratic state we refuse with all decisiveness any attempts from abroad to undermine the highest law of our people."

Names of the declaration's supporters, printed daily by the hundreds in Czech papers, included lay Catholics, diocese administrators, Catholic theology professors, priests in large and small parishes and local organizations of the Catholic charity organization Charitas. In 24 hours, government officials claim, 2,000 priests had written pledging support.

Father Frank Fiala—devout Catholic, popular parish priest, head of Charitas, and a member of the Central Action Committee—is today typical of the many priests who know the government has the advantage in a political power struggle, and see that the question of religious freedom is not involved. No one in Czechoslovakia is in the least afraid to go to church; priests have been given almost reckless freedom in their sermons. Only when politics enter are editors of church periodicals disciplined for what the government considers seditious articles.

FREEDOM OF WHAT? "Religious freedom" slogans will have little effect coming from such priests as the one on whom Otto Fanta, a district Action Committee member, reported to me in February, 1948. "We kept saying to the priest that religious freedom would be guaranteed," said Fanta, "but we couldn't get his mind on it; he kept asking what about his property."

Most Czech Catholics want a settlement with the government which will help their church and let them worship in peace and quiet. But the Vatican cannot afford a setback in its cold war against socialism. It apparently wants to dictate the form of government in Czechoslovakia. If a schism results, most Czech Catholics may be expected to pledge civil obedience to civil authorities.

This was a happier time. Following the election of Klement Gottwald as President of Czechoslovakia, a solemn mass was held by Archbishop Beran at St. Wenceslas Chapel in Prague. Above (l. to r.) Mrs. Gottwald, Gottwald, and Archbishop Beran. Behind them, Dr. J. John, chairman of the National Assembly and Prime Minister Zapotocky, then Deputy Prime Minister.

'Blasphemy, isn't it?'

SEGED, HUNGARY

A GROUP of peasant women with scarves around their heads, sitting with their tie-less, knee-booted husbands, watched their young folk dance in a circle of intertwining hands at the Young Peasant Club here.

"It was so difficult to understand at first," said one of the women as the talk moved to the Mindszenty trial. "But black marketing — conspiracy with foreign governments — that sort of thing under the Church's protection is almost blasphemy, isn't it?"

"Then you believe Cardinal Mindszenty was guilty?" I said.

"We heard him say so—over the radio."

"Which of you are Catholics?" I asked.

"Almost everyone here," said one of the men. He saw my astonishment. "You Americans think we are persecuted, don't you?"

"That's what we'd like to find out."

"Look," he said. "Churches are being repaired, new ones built. The government spends millions of forints on it. Our children are getting their religious training in the schools. The government isn't against religion; it's against religion interfering in politics.

"I always thought," he added, "that the doctrine of separation of church and state was held very dear by Americans."

—Sonya Salk

ROBESON

(Continued from page 1)

and sisters that I wept time and time again.

Whole nations of people gave me a welcome I can never forget—a welcome not for me, Paul Robeson, but in the name of the Negro people of America, of the colonies, in the name of Progressive America, of Wallace and the Progressive Party.

Later I toured England in peace meetings for British-Soviet friendship, did a series of meetings around the issues of freedom for the peoples of Africa and the West Indies.

Ten thousand people turned out in Liverpool. I stood at the coal pits in Scotland and saw miners contribute from their earnings $1,500 to $2,000 for the struggle of African workers. I saw English workers understand that if cheap labor could be obtained in Africa or the West Indies, or in southeast Asia, their living standards in England would suffer accordingly.

No songs for them

Then I moved into Scandinavia. I was booked for a Swedish concert tour through a so-called progressive newspaper. In London I picked up a copy of the paper and found in it complete acceptance of the Atlantic Pact. The pressures of present day American imperialism reach far. The paper also attacked the Eastern democracies and the Soviet Union.

I immediately asked for cancellation of my contracts. The contracts cancelled, I sang for the newspapers of the progressive and Communist forces of Scandinavia. All the other papers had gone the way of the Social Democrats—the Reuthers, Murrays, Careys, and Townsends—in their betrayal of the working class and Negro people to American, Dutch, British, and Japanese imperialists.

The people of Europe know the meaning of the Marshall Plan. They have lost their freedom. This was honestly acknowledged everywhere. American big business tells all of Western Europe what to do, what it can produce, where it must buy, with whom it can trade, and finally, with the Atlantic Pact, American big business may soon be ready to die to the last West European.

But beyond the strangling of Western Europe, the real meaning of the Marshall Plan is the complete enslavement of the colonies. For how can Western Europe and British and French bankers repay Wall Street? In raw materials — from South Africa, Nigeria, East Africa, French Africa, Belgian Congo, Trinidad, Jamaica, Cuba, Honduras, Guatemala, Viet-Nam, Malaya. Marshall Plan means enslavement of people all over the earth — it means no jobs for us here. And the Atlantic Pact means the legal means of providing troops to send to the colonies to insure slavery and terror.

In Eastern Europe are the nations in the lead in the battle for peace and freedom. The very mention of war caused people to look at you as if you were insane. In the Soviet Union, the very term "backward country" is an insult, for in one generation colonial peoples have been raised to unbelievable industrial and social levels.

Not afraid

These achievements make completely absurd the solemn announcements that it will take several generations, maybe hundreds of years, before the Negro people in the West Indies, Africa and America have any real control over their own destiny.

Now the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the People's Democracies, of progressive western Europe, are in great part Communists. They were the first to die for our freedom, and for the freedom of all mankind. So I am not afraid of Communists; no, far from that. I will defend them as they defended us.

With your friends

But to fulfil our responsibilities as Americans, we must unite. We must know our strength; we happen to be the decisive force. That is why they terrorize us. That is why they fear us.

But if we all unite in our might, the world can fast be changed. If we unite, we will get our law against lynching, our rights to vote and to labor. We must have the courage to shout at the top of our voices about injustices, and we must lay the blame where it belongs.

Let the warmongers know that we will not help enslave our brothers and sisters and eventually ourselves. Rather, we will help insure peace in our time — the freedom and liberation of the Negro and other struggling peoples, and the building of a world where we can all walk in full equality and full human dignity.

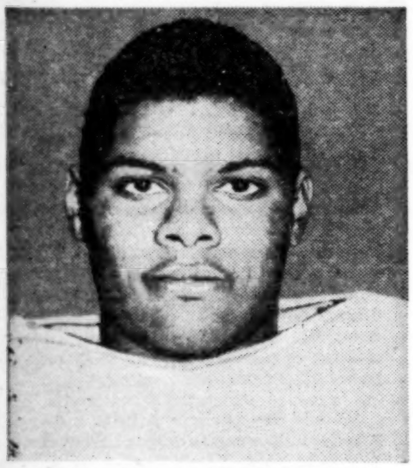
ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

Robeson's U.S.A.

PAUL ROBESON had toured Europe for four months singing and talking and listening. In the U.S. he has been acknowledged as a Negro who made good. Abroad he was acclaimed as an artist, an athlete, a master of languages, a giant of a man who, wherever he went, said boldly that he stood for freedom.

When he came home he was angry. His anger was massive. It flared into the open at his son's wedding. Photographers, eager to sensationalize the marriage of 21-year-old Paul Jr. with Marilyn Paula Greenberg, poked cameras inside the cab. The elder Robeson said: "I have the greatest contempt for the press and something within me keeps me from smashing your cameras over your heads."



PAUL ROBESON, JR.

His deepest anger he kept for the larger evils that would not let him love his country as fully as he wanted to. This is the way Paul Robeson's country looked during the week that he came home.

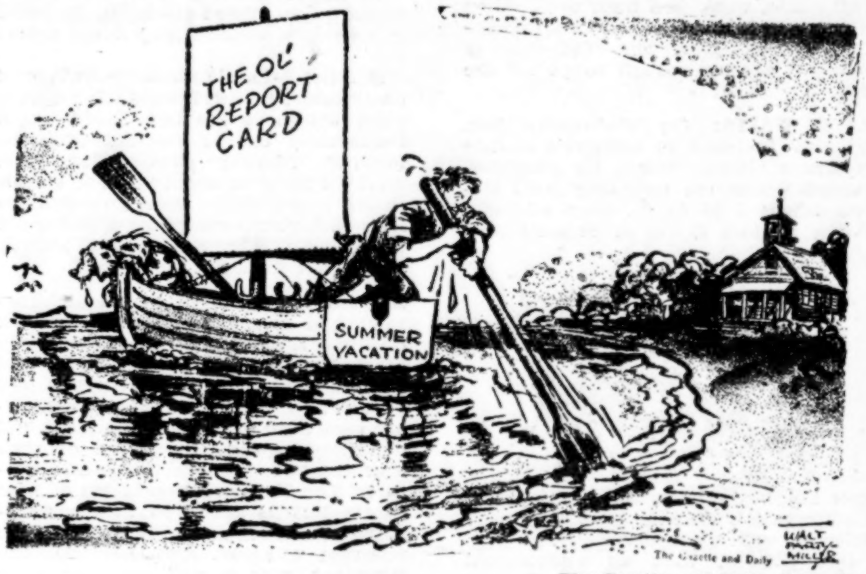
Scandal

In high places there were scandal and high jinks. Paul Grindle, owner of a furniture factory in Framingham, Mass., had traveled to Washington to look for business. He found a middleman in Col. James V. Hunt. In conversation the colonel tossed off the names of "dear friends" like Maj. Gen. Harry L. Vaughan, military aide to the President, and Secretary of Defense Louis A. Johnson.

For $1,000 down and $500 a month the colonel agreed to put in a good word for the furniture maker with his "friends." The furniture maker kept the canceled checks, the contract, noted the autographed pictures of generals and congressmen on the walls of the colonel's sumptuous offices. He was accurate because before he was a furniture maker Paul Grindle had been a reporter. He had worked for the **New York Herald Tribune** up to the summer of 1947. The **Herald Tribune** had an inside track. It played the scoop proudly on page one.

Four congressional committees responded to the story as if it were a revelation, and promised to investigate. But middlemen—called five percenters in the trade—have been long standing Washington fixtures.

A year ago the wartime business sidelines of Gen. Bennett E. Meyers made headlines. He was sentenced to prison for 20 months to five years. In 1947 Andrew May (D-Ky.) former chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, was sentenced to prison for eight months to two years for conspiracy to defraud on war contracts.



The Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.

"Ship ahoy!"

Statecraft

For statecraft there was the address of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey who returned from Europe to pick up an honorary degree from Williams College in Massachusetts. He said that in the face of the communist peril there must be "a greater interdependence between the people of the five still free continents—western Europe, Africa, the Americas and Australia."

(Free Africa was described by Marcel Egretaud, Counsellor of the French Union: "Casablanca, with 120 American shops, more and more resembles a city in Texas. Algeria has its Coca Cola plants. . . . The Anglo-Saxon oil trusts are fighting each other in Tunisia and Morocco to get their hands on the oil reserves. . . . Mr. Stettinius has set up . . . the Liberia Company, which, in practice, governs the black pseudo-Republic."

The Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs said that General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Rockefeller and Firestone dominate Johannesburg and Capetown.)

Economy

Early in the week, the President said blandly that rising unemployment constituted no crisis. (On Thursday, however, he told some congressmen that "something must be done about it.") Just as chipper was the **U.S. News and World Report** which said: "The faster the decline the more rapid the recovery. Decline to date has been faster and deeper than almost anyone had expected it to be."

That magazine found 8,000,000 in the U.S. out of work or working half-time or less. In Washington 125 unemployed members of the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America (CIO) told their congressmen "to do something fast" about unemployment.

Coal mines, steel and electrical plants and clothing factories were preparing to shut down completely while workers were on vacation. Some factories planned to stay closed for weeks longer; for those weeks there would be no pay for workers.

Diplomacy

On the diplomatic front the President persuaded Mrs. Perle Mesta to become Minister to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

The matronly Mrs. Mesta, whose father struck it rich in Oklahoma real estate, had—with Louis Johnson—raised funds handsomely for the Democratic Party and thrown fabulous parties in the capital. (Her accessories always ran to a tasty red.) Apparently in preparation for her mission she has gone easy of late on the party-throwing.

PERLE MESTA and FRIEND

WASHINGTON

Taft out-Tafted

THE promise was for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law. Then the compromises were made. The compromises led to retreat. Last week the retreat began to look like a rout.

The retreat was led by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) who had gone to Congress as a liberal friend of labor. He master-minded the strategy to make the Administration's repeal measure palatable to Taft-Hartley supporters by writing Taft-Hartley provisions into it.

Sen. Taft himself accepted the first four of these provisions with open delight: (1) forcing unions to bargain against their will; (2) requiring unions to file financial statements; (3) permitting employers to issue anti-union pro-

Continued on following page

Bold new program

Look what your boys found down South, Mr. T.

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

> *We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas . . . to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery and despair.*
>
> **President Truman's Point Four in his Inaugural Address, Jan. 20, 1949.**

FOR the first time in history a scientific, documented study of "That's What's Wrong About the South" has been made by a reputable agency and handed up to the President of the U.S. through his Council of Economic Advisers.

The 154 page study was made by Drs. Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford, Duke University economists, for the National Planning Assn., which did the job on contract for the economic council.

In unvarnished words it finds that the South (13 states) is a colony where wages are lower, total income payments lower, productivity lower and industrialization lower than anywhere else in the country.

They found that in 1920 and 1930 illiteracy was twice as high in the South as in the rest of the country. In 1940 one fourth of the inhabitants of the South over 25 had not gone beyond the fourth grade.

NOT MANY FIGURES: They could not measure just how much worse health is in the South because statistics were so meagre. They found that Selective Service rejections in seven southern states averaged 50% while the nation had an average of 39%.

Historically the death rate in the South has been high but, the doctors add, "in recent years death rates have been only slightly higher in the South and that difference has been due largely to the higher rate among Negroes."

The doctors found that per capita income payments in 1929 were $372 in the South and $797 in the "non-south." In 1932 they were $203 in the South, and $448 in the "non-south." In 1947, $925 in the South, $1,470 in the "non-south."

They found that the South constitutes a vast reservoir of cheap labor which migrates North during booms and stays put in misery during the busts. The cause of all this, the economists assert, is "a low ratio of developed natural and capital resources to population." The South, they say, exports products containing much manual labor and imports products requiring little.

GOT TO HAVE JOBS: They have a cure: "The South must have more industry and the kind of industry in which the value of output per worker is higher. . . . In a year like 1948 when both prices and physical expansion were at a peak the South would require an investment of some four or five billion dollars." But even that won't work, the authors say, unless we have full employment all over the country.

Drs. Hoover and Ratchford in their report on the South have nothing to say about the red menace. Nor did they say anything about the South's eligibility for the "bold new program."

Continued from preceding page

paganda; (4) continuing non-Communist affidavits.

The compromisers strengthened Taft's side, weakened their own. When it came to injunctions, the core of the Taft-Hartley Law, the Taft-Hartley men felt strong enough to go all the way.

TAFT WAITS: On Wednesday Sen. Douglas' proposal to authorize seizure of struck plants—which, he admitted, carried injunctive authority with it—was defeated 55 to 27. Most of those voting against it did so because they were holding out for the more specific Taft proposal. Other compromises were defeated even more decisively.

One Senator took an unequivocal stand. He was Matthew Neely (D-W. Va.). "I was sent here to vote against Taft-Hartley," he said. "Do we want an injunction law on the books? We can get it by adopting either the Taft amendment or the Douglas amendment. I don't want injunctions so I'm going to vote against both."

Taft himself was still waiting. When it came time he would stand and offer an "amendment" to the whole works. His amendment: a 60-page "improved" version of the Taft-Hartley Law.

Rough-Housing

Rep. E. E. Cox (D-Ga.) walked over to Rep. Adolph Sabath (D-Ill.) and asked him to yield the floor for 10 minutes to make a speech. Sabath said he didn't have that much time. Cox, 69 years old, slapped Sabath and knocked his glasses off. Sabath, 83 years old, rattled a fast right and left off Cox's chin. "A pair of beauties," said Rep. Walters. The House debate on President Truman's housing bill was under way.

Later the combatants shook hands. Cox got seven minutes for his speech. He ripped into public housing as "socialism."

By the second day of debate backers of the bill predicted victory by 30 votes; opponents were sure they would defeat it.

But the Administration technique of compromise had weakened the measure even before it reached the floor. A Democratic caucus reduced proposed low-rent housing construction from 1,050,000 units in seven years to 810,000 in six years. Other provisions call for long-range slum clearance, housing aid to farmers. The Senate has already passed the measure.

RUTHLESS: Earlier President Truman had issued a 4,000-word attack on the real estate lobby, "a little group of ruthless men" spreading "false and misleading" propaganda. The President said he had never seen "a more deliberate campaign of misrepresentation and distortion against legislation of such crucial importance to the public welfare." The National Association of Real Estate Boards answered with a document nearly as long. It charged the program will cost $20,000,000,000. The President says it will cost less than half that.

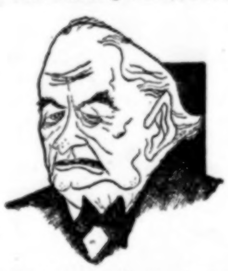
There are two figures nobody disputes: 2,500,000 married couples live doubled up with other families; 6,000,000 American homes are below minimum health and safety standards.

Pact and arms

At the beginning no special urgency was attached to the $1,130,000,000 arms program to back up the Atlantic Pact; it was generally understood it wouldn't even come up for debate in this session. Since then the heat has been turned on.

Last week the heat reached the sizzling point. Secretary of State Dean Acheson wasn't home 24 hours from the Big 4 meeting before he was telling the Foreign Relations Committee that both the Pact and the arms bill must be approved at this session.

He had two strong backers. Connally said: "It is my hope that we will be able to enact the arms program at this session." Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R-Mich.), ranking Republican member of the committee, was more emphatic: "Congress can't adjourn without acting on both."



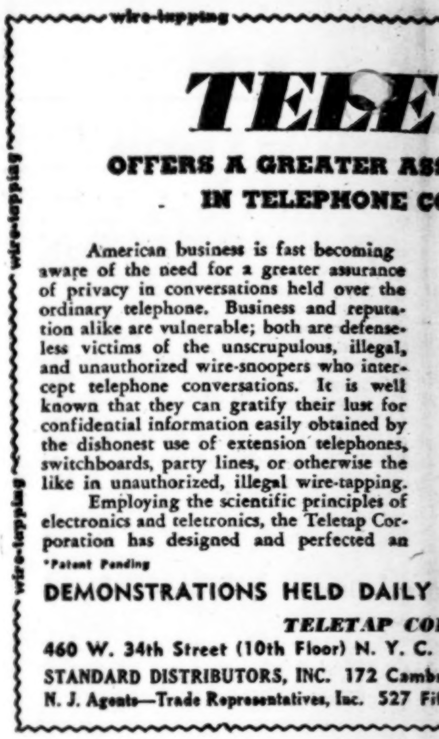
Reorganization

For many months a commission headed by Herbert Hoover studied the U.S. government, came up with a far-reaching plan of reorganization that would streamline executive agencies and save money. Last week President Truman got the power for such reorganization, ordered sweeping changes which will become effective in 60 days unless Congress votes them down.

First congressional reaction was favorable. The changes would add a tenth member to the Cabinet, a Secretary of Welfare, and would transfer and combine many boards and agencies.

A needed investigation

It took a series of floggings by hooded Klansmen to do it, but a House group finally last week decided to look into violence in the South. A Civil Rights subcommittee headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) will conduct the inquiry. Another token gain on the civil rights front was made when the House Administration Committee approved an anti-poll-tax bill.



wire-tapping

TELE

OFFERS A GREATER AS

IN TELEPHONE C

American business is fast becoming aware of the need for a greater assurance of privacy in conversations held over the ordinary telephone. Business and reputation alike are vulnerable; both are defenseless victims of the unscrupulous, illegal, and unauthorized wire-snoopers who intercept telephone conversations. It is well known that they can gratify their lust for confidential information easily obtained by the dishonest use of extension telephones, switchboards, party lines, or otherwise the like in unauthorized, illegal wire-tapping.

Employing the scientific principles of electronics and teletronics, the Teletap Corporation has designed and perfected an

*Patent Pending

DEMONSTRATIONS HELD DAILY

TELETAP CO

460 W. 34th Street (10th Floor) N. Y. C.

STANDARD DISTRIBUTORS, INC. 172 Camb

N. J. Agents—Trade Representatives, Inc. 527 Fi

The advertisement above is the sharpest possible commentary on our tap-happy era. It was printed in the New York Times of June 22. GUARDIAN's Leon Summit went down for a demonstration. A personable young lady explained how the "teletap" worked.

"You'd be surprised how many businessmen have phoned in answer to our ad," she said, "and they'd be surprised to learn how many of their wires are tapped. During many such calls this box (the teletap monitor box) flashes red, and then we know the caller's wire is tapped."

Economic jimcrow

Farm workers take steps to get social security

By C. W. Fowler

WRITTEN into U. S. social legislation is a basic discrimination excluding 6,000,000 working farmers and several millions of hired farm workers from protective laws that cover other people.

"Unto every one that hath, shall be given," the Food and Tobacco Workers Union (CIO) quoted Matthew to the House Ways and Means Committee recently in illustration of the present arrangement. "But from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away."

Since the New Deal began, farm workers have been shut out from wage-and-hour and Wagner law benefits and from all forms of social security—even under the laws governing dangerous and unhealthy employment. Farm children have been denied the protection of anti-child labor laws; many states refuse to require even minimum school attendance during crop seasons.

THE FARMERS MOVE. The nation's farmers and farm workers are beginning to make clear to Congress that it doesn't make sense. The National Farmers Grange, oldest and one of the most conservative of the big farm groups, has come out for old age and survivors' benefits for farmers. New York's Farm Bureau Federation, whose parent body is if anything even more conservative, has asked security for farm workers as well as operating farmers.

Don Wickham, the N. Y. Bureau's vice-president, told the Ways and Means Committee that this could "make many an old age a happy one which otherwise might be blotted with insecurity, despair and relief dependency."

The welfare of family-size farmers and agricultural workers is closely tied in with that of industrial workers. Packingshed workers, who pack the fruit and vegetables consumers eat in and out of season, work on the same kind of conveyor lines that Ford workers work on. Yet 200,000 of them are excluded from social security just as millions of farmers and farm workers are excluded.

BAD FOR EVERYONE. The Truman administration, which would not be in power without the rural vote, is beginning to recognize the need for ending this form of economic jimcrow. Only a few weeks ago U. S. Revenue Commissioner George J. Schoemann testified that farm workers and farmers, domestic workers and others could easily be covered through a stamp system such as is used in Europe.

Closing of this gap in our social security system will mean that the industrial worker and the salaried man can breathe a little easier. Millions of rural workers shut out from all protective laws make pretty grim competition in times of growing depression.

LABOR WEEK

These will fight

UP to last week each progressive union had fought its own battle against brass-knuckled raiders sanctioned by CIO high command.

Last week progressives in CIO were organizing. More than 700 CIO shop stewards, committeemen and local officers crowded into a union hall in Chicago. They ran the roll call of progressive unions, among them Mine, Mill and Smelter; Food, Tobacco and Agriculture; United Electrical and Radio Longshoremen and Warehousemen; Farm Equipment and Metal. But there were also progressives from right-wing unions: Reuther's Auto Workers and Murray's Steel Workers; Rubber and Clothing.

They demanded a measure of autonomy and called on CIO to become "the fighting rank-and-file organization it was before."

This was their program: fight the depression; fight Taft-Hartley; fight for wages; fight for housing; fight together. On foreign policy they quoted Abraham Lincoln: "The prevention of war and the peace of the world depends upon the working people."

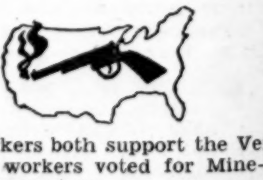
NO LOOPHOLES: At the week-end unionists were moving on Washington for a Sunday conference at the Hotel Statler. It was called to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, and to restore the Wagner Act without amendments, compromise or loopholes.

The call was issued by FE president Grant Oakes, Mine-Mill vice-president Reid Robinson, FTA president Donald Henderson, UE general vice-presidents Leo Jandreau and James McLeish; Hugh Bryson, president, National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; James Durkin, president, United Office and Professional Workers; Abram Flaxer, president, United Public Workers; Ben Gold, president, International Fur and Leather Workers; and Joseph P. Selly, president, American Communications Association.

CIO shooting war

IN ten months of their strike against the American Zinc Co., two attempts have been made to assassinate local Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO) leaders in Fairmont City, Ill.; the union's secretary-treasurer was blinded in an assault in Alabama; men have fired pistols at pickets; each striker has been offered a $100 bribe to go back to work; the union has been called "red."

Leading the assault on the union in Fairmont City are two brothers, Angelo and Joe Verdu, who formed for the occasion the Progressive Metal Workers' Council. Though CIO wired formal support to the strikers, the local CIO director and local director of the United Steel Workers both support the Verdus. Still, the workers voted for Mine-Mill. The strike went on.



BATTLE CALL: Last week the strikers were at a victory fish fry when word of trouble came again. The wife of striker Allan Reed had been set upon as she left her home for the fish fry.

The men trooped to police headquarters. A delegation went inside, then stopped short. In the office of the chief of police was Joe Verdu. He was heard

wire-tapping

ETAP*

ASSURANCE OF PRIVACY
E CONVERSATIONS

electronic instrument engineered to monitor a telephone conversation between speakers without any physical connection to the telephone instruments or lines. Thus, should the illegal wire-snooper intercept a telephone conversation through the unauthorized use of extension telephones, switchboards, party lines, or otherwise the like in unauthorized, illegal wire-tapping, the instrument will alert the speaker to the intrusion. The *TELETAP** monitors both ends of a telephone conversation, no matter how far distant. It monitors also while the telephone is not in use.

Simple as a radio to install and operate. Size 4" x 6" x 8".

AILY IN THE SHOWROOMS OF THE
* *CORPORATION*
Y. C. LOngacre 5-1300
Cambridge St., Boston, Mass. Richmond 2-0723
27 Fifth Ave. (Rm. 1017), N. Y. C. MU 7-0924

She said that in tests the teletap had picked up wiretapping on long distance calls between New York and Chicago, and was probably effective at considerably longer distances. The device is supposed to detect intrusion at either end of a phone conversation. The price is $179 and installation is as easy as plugging in a radio.

Asked whether the teletap would light up during wiretapping by use of an induction coil (a method requiring no actual physical interference with the telephone circuit), the young lady said: "We're not permitted to talk about that."

---

reporting by phone to his brother Angel. Within minutes three carloads of men arrived from the Progressive Metal Workers Council. From one leaped Palmer Ryan, who fired six shots into the crowd. Colmara Rodriguez caught one bullet in the abdomen. Joe Petroski, former financial secretary of the local, fell with a bullet in his shoulder. Allan Reed's arm was grazed.

Strikers leaped on Ryan. Police jumped into the battle and a nightstick fractured Ryan's skull.

Warrants were served on Ryan and the Verdus, who in turn swore out warrants for 30 strikers. All were arrested.

ONE DOWN: Strikers' delegations called on Mayor Anthony Thomas to fire Police Chief Arthur J. Wylie, whose telephone was used to summon the rioters and who was charged with "repeatedly releasing gunmen attacking strike leaders."

Shortly after the delegation left the Mayor, Wylie handed in his resignation.

Hysteria in Hawaii

WHEN it began May 1, the Hawaiian strike of 2,000 members of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) was just another struggle for better wages: specifically, for a 32-cents-an-hour increase. By last week it had become a no-quarter fight by the island employers to destroy the union.

The indictment of Harry Bridges and Henry Schmidt, leader of the Hawaii strike, on charges of perjury in connection with Bridges' naturalization, seemed made to order for strikebreaking purposes. It not only raised again the old cry of "red," but it removed Schmidt from the islands for mainland court proceedings.

The "Big Five" (the companies dominating the island economy) decided to cash in on the hysteria. A **New York Times** Honolulu dispatch June 22 said: "There is evidence on every hand that business has wide backing in its announced determination to hold out in an effort to discredit the left-wing leadership of the ILWU."

STRANGLED CRY: On Thursday U.S. citizens were startled by fantastically expensive two-page advertisements in their newspapers. Hawaii was being strangled by an un-American monster; "nothing short of SPEEDY action by Congress can help."

Actually the Big Five could have ended the strike at any time in the past two months by accepting union offers to arbitrate the wage issue. They not only refused arbitration, but declined to bind themselves to a decision by a Governor-appointed fact-finding commission which heard union evidence that Hawaiian longshoremen are the hardest-working, lowest-paid on any American waterfront.

Even with the union's demand they would still be paid less than West Coast longshoremen working for the same companies.

TO THE LAST DOLLAR: If Hawaii was being strangled, the employers' two-page ad told who was doing the strangling: " . . . the businessmen of Hawaii . . . have as one man . . . agreed to stand together and resist further demands, if it takes every dollar they have." Their fear was obvious: if the longshoremen won, the same kind of demands would spread to the underpaid, overlooked laborers in Hawaii's fabulously rich pineapple and sugar plantations.

Meanwhile congressional red-baiters were rising to the Big Five's hook. A week ago chairman John S. Wood of the Un-American Activities Committee said he might look into charges of "communism" in the Islands. Last week a sub-committee of the House Public Lands Committee, composed of Dixiecrats and a reactionary Republican, announced it will investigate "the situation in Hawaii."

THE TRIALS

"Nothing serious"

THE President wrote off the excitement as post-war hysteria that would soon pass. Then he signed into law the bill that would admit to the nation spies and informers from abroad. And at home the list of prominent victims lengthened. They included both hunters and hunted: Winant, White, Duggan, Forrestal, Kent, Smith, and Judith Coplon's father.

The Klan was still flogging men and women in Alabama. In national and state legislatures bills of suppression were pending and in the courts men were being tried "for conspiracy to advocate."

Of all the arenas for prying, quizzing and tormenting, none yielded so shameful a picture of the witch-hunt technique as the Washington court room where 28-year-old Judith Coplon took the witness stand.

She was charged with taking documents from the Department of Justice, where she worked, to hand them over to Valentin Gubitchev, a member of Russia's UN delegation.

SECRET WEAPON: Her superior, she said, had planted the most damaging document by asking her to put it in her purse and take it along to New York. She said she was in love with Gubitchev and was shocked to learn he was married. Columnist I. F. Stone of the New York **Compass** charged that **FBI** investigators deliberately suppressed an account of a lover's quarrel which would have corroborated her story.

On Wednesday the government pulled an ace out of its sleeve in its fight to convict her: she had spent two nights in a hotel room with one H. P. Shapiro. She did not deny it.

Miss Coplon lost her composure and shouted: "You have branded me as a spy and now you are trying to brand me as a harlot."

H. P. Shapiro, the **Compass** reported, is an aide of Raymond P. Whearty, assistant prosecutor in the trial.

The Hiss show

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS asserted in 1940 that Francis B. Sayre, then Undersecretary of State, was "the head of the Communist apparatus in the State Department." So testified literary critic Malcolm Cowley, a defense witness in the Hiss perjury trial.

Other "fact witnesses" also cast doubt on Chambers' credibility. A former maid in the Hiss household and her two sons said the famous Woodstock typewriter, on which Hiss is alleged to have copied State Department documents, was given them by the Hisses in 1936 or 1937. The documents in question are dated 1938.

Among the distinguished character witnesses who testified, directly or by deposition, to Hiss' loyalty and veracity were two Supreme Court justices, Felix Frankfurter and Stanley Reed, who appeared in person; U.S. Ambassador-at-large Philip Jessup; and Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson.

At the week-end Hiss himself took the stand to deny, quietly but confidently, that he was or had ever been a Communist and that he had ever given confidential or restricted State Department information to any unauthorized persons.

No. 4 to jail

JUDGE HAROLD R. MEDINA, presiding at the trial of the 11 Communist leaders, had just rejected as evidence an article written by Eugene Dennis and Gilbert Green, entitled "Notes on the Defense of American Democracy."

Continued on following page

Max Werner

A-Bomb will bring war but never a victory

MUCH more important than Sen. Hickenlooper's fuss about the Atomic Energy Commission is the serious research on the A-Bomb's military value. The A-Bomb myth has been inexorably sapped by the world's greatest physicists and military experts: Blackett and Gen. Fuller in England, Camille Rougeron in in England, Camille Rougeron in France, Prof. Morrison and Dr. Lapp in the U.S.—and first of all indeed Gens. Eisenhower and Bradley, supported by Navy men like Admirals Halsey and Gallery. Only a few Air Force generals and a few air columnists still believe in victory by the A-Bomb.

Now comes Dr. Stephan Possony of Georgetown University with **Strategic Air Power,** a book of international importance published last week by the influential Infantry Journal Press. Dr. Possony is impartial and strictly scientific. He has no moral and political objections against the Bomb. Yet reducing it to its real military proportions he kills its dangerous myth.

DOWN TO SIZE: The truth about the Bomb is that, deadly as it is against Great Britain and France, it cannot work as a decisive weapon against the U.S.S.R., or for different reasons against China.

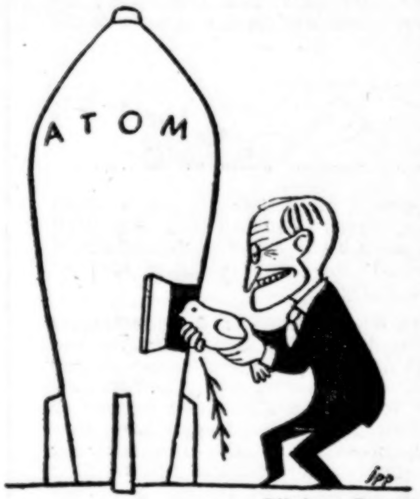
It smashes buildings and kills civilians. But it does not, as Dr. Possony rightly states, produce industrial destruction on the advertised scale to cripple a modern continental Great Power.

He is emphatic in stressing the chances of defense against the Bomb. "There are always weapons available which, if used in sufficient quantities, could destroy a great number of heavy bombers and preclude the execution of a bombing plane."

In the last war, even with Hitler Germany's weak fighter forces, some 8,000 to 9,000 U.S. heavy bombers were destroyed plus some thousands of the British. The cost of attacks against the Ploesti (Rumanian) oil fields alone was the loss of 280 allied bombers.

IT'S A CRISIS: Yet about 100 B-36's are being ordered now. There can be no reliance even on these few super-bombers. "The crisis of the heavy bomber is, in plain fact, a crisis of American air power and accordingly a severe crisis of American national defense," says Dr. Possony.

In his correct opinion an atomic offensive would require a tremendously strong Air Force—which we do not have and do not plan. With the heavy bomber outclassed by defense and the limited effect of the A-Bomb, what sense does atomic strategy make? Dr. Possony sees more than a single weapon. He asserts again and again that use of the A-Bomb does not yet mean a victory in the air, and strength in the air does not yet lead to victory on land.



Dikobraz, Prague

"Those evil Bolsheviks might harm you—you'll be safe in here."

His language is that of facts and figures. Having refuted the illusion of the all-breaking all-wiping-out Bomb, he proves cheap and quick atomic strategy to be nonsensical. It leaves in its wake frustration and disorientation. Not by chance are the **New York Times** and the **Herald Tribune** now campaigning against it.

TRY ANOTHER HOBBY: The advocates of atomic strategy say that though it may be horrible morally and dangerous politically, at least it is effective technologically and strategically.

They are wrong just in their own, in the **military** field. The A-Bomb increases unbelievably, not the chances of victory but the risks of war.

The important facts conveyed by Dr. Possony show why it is so dangerous to consider the A-Bomb as our national institution and national hobby.

Continued from preceding page

Green, Illinois state chairman of the Communist Party, who was on the witness stand, turned to the judge and said: "I thought we were going to be given a chance to prove our case."

The Judge said: "Mr. Green, you are hereby remanded for the balance of the trial."

Deprived of bail, Green joined John Gates, Henry Winston and Gus Hall who are taken to jail each night and returned the next morning for the trial.

UNIONS PROTEST: Demonstrators protested in Foley Square during the week. An emergency conference of 200 trade union leaders was called in New York to demand immediate release of the four. Among the leaders were Ben Gold, president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union; Alex Sirota, president of District 3 of the United Furniture Workers; Ruth Young, executive secretary of District 4 of the United Electrical Workers.

Later in the week Judge Medina also rejected as evidence the 27,000 word statement on Communist Party aims written by the ailing chairman William Z. Foster.

Henry McLemore, columnist of the New York **Journal-American,** commented on the trial of those charged with force and violence: "When and if this country goes under it is my guess that tolerance will be to blame. . . . The way we coddle Communists is enough to make a strong man sick. . . . In my book they should be shot. Let them admit that they are Communists, and five minutes later let their comrades claim their bodies."

Viet-Nam blood bath

1,000 Frenchmen a month die for U.S. bankers

By Ilona Ralf Sues

TWO weeks ago ex-Annamese emperor Bao Dai, returning from luxurious exile on the French Riviera, arrived almost furtively in Viet-Nam. The puppet "independence" government he was to head would, it was hoped, let France cling a while longer to her Indo-Chinese territory.

The savage military struggle to hold Viet-Nam against the forces of Ho Chi Minh, chosen left-wing leader of 20,000,000 people who have reconquered 80% of their country, continues with virtually no hope of success. At least half of the French Foreign Legion fighting the Viet-Namese independence movement, and almost all of its officers, are German Nazis formerly fighting for Hitler.

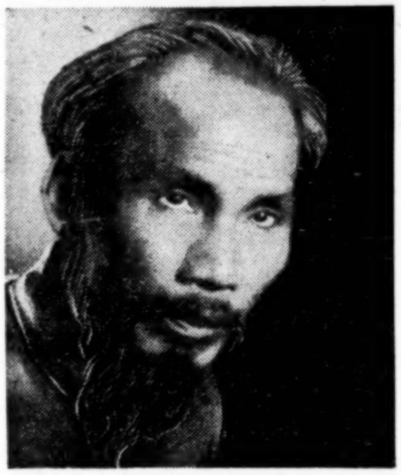
The manner of the fighting is indictated in Legionnaires' letters to their relatives and sweethearts in Berlin: "I get pleasure from beheading rebels," writes Corp. Hermann Stricher. "We either behead them or cripple them," writes Hans Stumpfel, "beginning with fingers and toes and ending with the head." Former SS man Otto Lerner reports: "All of us are Germans, and we drink a lot of wine."

DE-PUPPETIZATION: Last week the **New York Herald Tribune's** Stewart Alsop—often a reliable State Dept. weathervane—began datelining stories from Saigon, one of the three big cities the French still hold.

Writing off France's chance to reconquer the country, he championed an independent Viet-Nam "owing allegiance to no great power"; the curse must be taken off "playboy" Bao Dai, about whom there is a "universal conviction that he is the puppet of French colonialism."

Alsop hopes Bao Dai may be able to "reduce Ho Chi Minh's following to a hard Communist core." To help in this direction we should offer "generous American diplomatic, economic and military aid."

Bao Dai needs all he can get, in a hurry. Arriving at Dalat with three brand new carbines for tiger-hunting, he found 50 people lined up to welcome him. Soon afterward he reportedly told friends he expected to return to France this month.



HO CHI MINH

A SPOT OF GRAVY: Bao Dai is a major shareholder in the Bank of Indo-China, which has controlled the colony's tin, rice and rubber trusts.

The truth about "generous American aid" and its motives came out when the French Chamber of Deputies debated the 106,000,000,000-franc military budget (76,000,000,000 of which were earmarked for the Viet-Nam war). The Paris **Action** disclosed contents of a top-secret memorandum submitted at the end of 1948 by Colonial Minister Coste-Floret to his government and to ECA envoy (now U.S. Ambassador) David Bruce.

WHO'S WHO: The memorandum described a corporation that was to be organized by Wall St. concerns and eight French banks including the Bank of Indo-China—for whose "exclusive profit," says **Action,** the $288,000,000-a-year, 1,000-lives-a-month Viet-Nam war is being fought.

The U.S. firms are Brown Bros. Harriman & Co.; Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Chase National Bank; National City Bank; Guaranty Trust Co.; Bank of America; and the World Commerce Corp., an enterprise for exploiting colonial areas started after the war by U.S. and British capitalists close to the highest government circles in Washington and London.

U.S. participation in the venture is $24,000,000 out of the $50,000,000 total capital. A Frenchman (a M. Peter, economic head of the Colonial Ministry) is nominated as president. But there is to be a U.S. Administration representative sitting with Peter, and the memorandum specifies that the trust will give special study to "projects submitted by the American partners."

ANOTHER VOICE: Raphael Saller, Counsellor of the Republic for French Guinea, said this was clearly a sort of ECA trust which would prevent any competition to the American interests. The entire story was ignored by Stewart Alsop and the U.S. press.

President Truman may throw some light on U.S. aims in Indo-China when he details his $48,000,000 "Point Four" program. But the last word is likely to be spoken by the "backward" Viet-Namese who have proved quite capable of running their own affairs.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

I said: 'Yes, Sir'

BENNIE and Lloyd Ray Daniels, teen-aged Negro boys of Greenville, North Carolina, are scheduled to die in the gas chamber July 15. Convicted of murdering a white cab driver last February, the boys, who are cousins, are the victims of a frameup.

Only evidence linking them to the crime were confessions extorted by force, in the traditional black-belt atmosphere of police terror and brutality against Negroes. This was the statement of Lloyd Daniels, 16:

"After I was arrested I was taken by three officers to the woods near Williamston, N.C., handcuffed, and told to get out of the car and tell who killed that white man. I knew nothing about it. And when I tried to explain to the officers, I was told by them if I wanted to see my mama again, I had better own that Bennie and I did it. I only had three minutes to make up my mind. I asked what they were going to do to me. They said: 'Kill you.' After I had stood in the rain, wet, cold and nearly frozen, they said: 'This is your last chance,' and pulled some object from behind them. I said: 'Yes.'"

Bennie, 17, said: "The officers brought me a piece of paper with some printing on it and asked me if I could sign my name. I said: 'Yes, sir.' They said: 'Put your name on here.' I said: 'I don't know what it is, I stopped school in the first or second grade.' They said: 'Nigger, if you don't write your name, we'll blow your damn brains out.' So I wrote my name."

EVIDENCE: A tobacco workers' leader, Cornelius Simpson, and other Greenville Negro citizens uncovered evidence that a white man and a white married woman were involved in the crime. The woman, covered with blood, was seen leaving the woods where the murder occurred. Her coat was found by the body. Her tracks led to the highway. A car driven at high speed was seen following the cab into the woods. Police suppressed and the court ignored this evidence. Negroes braved possible death at the hands of the Klan to present it at the trial.

The People's Legislative Conference, a committee of representatives from progressive trade unions, Negro organizations and the Progressive Party, has taken the lead in fighting the case. The Progressive Party has told the story in Negro churches in Durham and throughout the state. A coordinated state-wide defense is being planned.

The Trenton mind

SIX weeks after the appeal of the Trenton Six was argued, the New Jersey State Supreme Court still pondered its decision. The Six remained in the death house.

Trenton's jimcrow, meanwhile, found another expression and a victim of another sort. A third-year student in Trenton High School shaved his head, Prussian-style, slashed his cheek to simulate a sword scar, put on a sam-browne belt and carried a Luger gun. Thus outfitted, he organized a "German Culture Society" and looked for fellow storm troopers.

Dean Paul R. Spencer suspended the boy and asked that he be examined by Board of Education psychiatrists.

RELIGION

Vatican on the spot

ON Corpus Christi Day choristers, flower girls, Knights of Columbus in plumed cocked hats, members of the Nocturnal Adoration Society, all knelt on the grass of Fordham University campus, in the Bronx. Before giving the third benediction, Francis Cardinal Spellman digressed to inveigh against "a new apostle of bigotry" who, he said, vented "venom upon children" and was guilty of "a sin shocking as it is incomprehensible." His supporters, he said, were "disciples of discrimination."

The target of the Cardinal's wrath was Representative Graham A. Barden (D-N.C.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Education, whose bill would limit the use of tax money to public schools.

STRONG WORDS: The Cardinal's fury at the proposal to deny parochial schools support from the public till met no reproof from Catholic notables. But Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam said that the Cardinal was "bearing false witness." (The Fourth Commandment reads: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." It was a heavy charge against a Cardinal.)

Schism in Prague

On the same day Archbishop Josef Beran offered a solemn high mass in the Cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague. The cathedral was densely crowded but orderly throughout the mass. Then a priest brought a microphone to the Archbishop. He began a denunciation of the Committee for Catholic Action, an organization of Catholic priests and laymen sponsored by the government.

There were catcalls and boos in the cathedral. The Archbishop knelt briefly, then made his way down the aisle, outside the doors to his car and so to his palace. His partisans, jostling to touch his garments, almost threw him off his feet.

THE ANTHEM: Inside the cathedral all factions joined in singing the national anthem, then services continued. Outside the palace crowds gathered and called upon the Archbishop to appear on the balcony. Some shouted: "Hurray for President Gottwald!" Others cried: "Hurray for the Archbishop!" The Archbishop did not appear; no emissary of his could quiet the crowd. Then, as in the church, someone started to sing the national anthem. The crowd joined in, then dispersed.

In Prague, unlike the Bronx, all clergymen (four-fifths of them Catholic) are paid by the state. The state also pays for the restoration and maintenance of churches. But it will not recognize the Vatican as a temporal power with authority to punish and re-educate Catholics in Czechoslovakia.

2,000 THUNDERBOLTS: Moreover, in Prague, unlike the Bronx, there are Catholic dissenters. It seemed less a

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fight between church and state than a schism in church ranks. Among members of the government-sponsored Catholic Action are 2,000 of the 6,000 priests in the country. It is headed by Josef Plojhar, priest and Minister of Health.

From Rome came a decree of excommunication against all voluntary members of the organization, and most emphatically its founders and leaders.

Rarely since the Church was first challenged in the Reformation has it had to hurl its major thunderbolt at so vast a number.

Up cassocks

Nor were Catholics elsewhere quiescent. Outside the 14th District Mairie in Paris the Catholic priest Abbe Grangier addressed a left-wing crowd that had gathered in opposition to a rally for Charles de Gaulle.

"I shall not hesitate," the priest said, "if I have to tuck my cassock very high in defense of the Republic. . . . There will be found many Catholc priests, not to give extreme unction to the Republic but to chant a Te Deum to its glory."

THE WORLD

EAST-WEST

Big 4: Result

CHAMPAGNE toasts in the bar of the Rose Palace formally ended the Paris Conference, first Big Four meeting since '46 to reach agreement.

German unity was left in abeyance. A promise was made to normalize life in divided Berlin. Greater East-West trade seemed possible with the decision to expand trade between the German Zones. The way was opened for an Austrian treaty by Sept. 1.

Yugoslavia, whose claims to Slovene Carinthia and to reparations from Austria were denied when the U.S.S.R. ceased to support them, filed a formal protest with the Big Four.

On Thursday it was reported that $10,000 worth of angel-skin satins, silken failles and gold-threaded brocades was missing from the new minister's "diplomatic wardrobe." The FBI went to work.

The Soviet Union hailed the results as easing international tension and laying the groundwork for a peaceful European settlement. Britain's Bevin saw "possibilities of cooperation" between East and West. Paris swiftly dispatched a trade delegation to Moscow to negotiate the first post-war French-Soviet trade agreement.

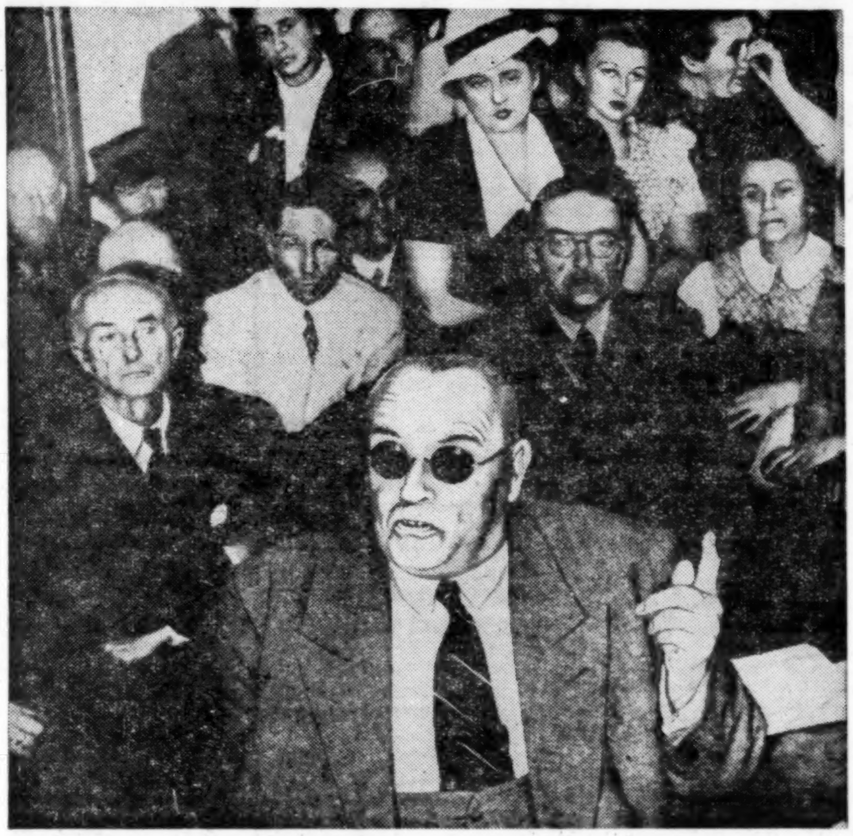
Secretary Acheson, alighting at Washington Airport, was overheard muttering to the President: "I don't think we really accomplished too much." The **New York Times** noted official fears lest "rosier reports from Paris" endanger Senate approval of the North Atlantic Pact.

GAY VIENNA: But Austrian Foreign Minister Karl Gruber was jubilant over progress made on the Austrian treaty. Austria, he said, would expand its trade "in all directions" and would not join the Atlantic Pact.

U.S.-British determination to hold Austria as a "strategic gateway" to the East and to deprive Russia of German economic assets promised by the Potsdam Agreement has hitherto blocked the Austrian treaty.

Potsdam gave the Western powers all German assets in West Austria (valued at $350,000,000) and the U.S.S.R. all such assets in East Austria (valued at $150,000,000). Defining German assets as it suited them in their own zones, the Western powers insisted on a definition in the Soviet Zone which would have cut Soviet claims by more than half.

The U.S.S.R. repeatedly reduced its claims to German assets and Austria wanted to settle on their terms. But each time the U.S. rejected the settlement. Now the U.S. has agreed in the Paris accord that Russia shall receive assets of the Danube Shipping Co., oil rights in East Austria and $150,000,000 in payment for other German assets.



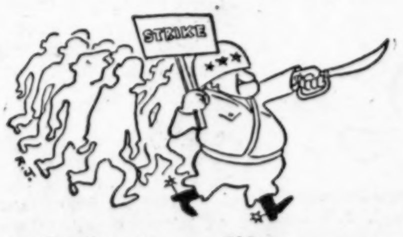
Three cheers for the Luftwaffe!

The lady in the rear (r.) is fighting back her tears as Gen. Field Marshal Sperrle, former head of Hitler's Luftwaffe III, stands in passing jeopardy before a U. S. Zone court in Munich, Germany. Courage, dear lady! After five hours the courtroom rang with cheers as Sperrle was discharged without a stain on his character. Then he went right to a meeting with other purified German bigwigs to found a new party — the Association of Independent Germans — which bore striking resemblance, the New York Times said, to the movement that gave birth to Nazism.

Berlin divided

With the conference over, U.S. officials tried to end the West Berlin railroad strike. The strike began when West Berlin authorities suddenly refused to honor a standing agreement to convert a percentage of East marks, collected in fares by the Soviet-controlled railroad administration, into West marks. West Berlin workers struck when they got all their pay, therefore, in East marks. Previously they had been paid 60% in West marks, the ratio specified by the West Berlin city government for all workers who live in West Berlin but work for East Berlin enterprises.

The European news agency, **Telepress,** reported that the U.S. military occupation, in addition to directing this political strike, had given the striking union over 3,000,000 marks for "organizational purposes."



Chinese dilemma

AS he winged homeward from Paris in the President's plane Secretary Acheson worried not about Germany, but about China and Japan. For Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky had opened and closed the Paris Conference with the demand that the Foreign Ministers' Council take up the Japanese peace treaty.

Acheson was reported desperately hunting a formula to avoid giving the New China and the Soviet Union an equal voice with Britain and the U.S. in making the treaty for Japan.

Complicating the problem is the fact that Britain and the U.S. do not see eye to eye on China. Britain is worried over the fate of Hong Kong, even more worried about its huge investments in China proper. It wants to come to terms and do business with Communist China. The British Consul General in Shanghai praised the Communists in such glowing terms last week that American correspondents predicted Britain was preparing to recognize Communist China.

BRISTLING PURR: The British Lion, as one reporter commented, "is worried and occasionally shows its teeth—as in the military reinforcement of Hong Kong—but it is trying hard to purr."

In Congress, Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) accused Britain of violating Marshall Plan principles when it helped the Communists sweep the Yangtze for mines. In Shanghai, the Communists accused the British of fabricating reports of mines in the Yangtze for the purpose of making the Communists feel dependent on outside aid. Nationalist Chinese planes twice bombed and strafed a British freighter in the mouth of the Yangtze.

In Peiping, Communist China went ahead with plans to set up a democratic coalition government in mid-August. Some 510 delegates from 45 mass organizations will gather then in Peiping for a meeting of the new Political Consultative Conference, which will establish "The People's Democratic Republic of China."

BRITAIN

Bullies and beef

THE British meat ration is 20 cents' worth weekly. At current prices this means at most ¾ of a pound of stew beef or two tiny lamb chops. Britons have had no more meat than this for nearly ten years.

Britain buys ⅓ of its meat from Argentina. It lacks dollars to buy meat elsewhere. A five-year trade pact by which British machinery and oil will be exchanged for Argentine meat and food was recently negotiated. The U.S. protested, claiming the treaty violates multilateral free trade principles. The U.S. wants to sell its own machinery and oil to Argentina.

ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman threatened to end all Marshall Plan aid to Britain if it signs the trade pact. Signing of the treaty has been postponed while British and American officials seek a face-saving compromise.

U.S. VS. BRITAIN: But Britain was faced squarely with the fact, as pointed out by the **New York Times,** that either its domestic program or its adherence to U.S. trade policy "must go." Since Britain is dependent on Marshall Plan aid, there was little doubt in the **Times'** mind "as to which ultimately must 'give' the most."

Left wing Laborites like Konni Zilliacus have been warning for years that tying Britain to U.S. foreign policy would mean scrapping Labor's domestic program. Now the chickens are coming home to roost. Britain faces a grave economic crisis. Its industrial goods, priced 15% higher than similar U.S. goods in world markets, are hard to sell. Exports are dropping, the dollar shortage growing. ECA officials are urging a cut in Britain's social services. Heavy pressure to devaluate the pound is coming from the U.S. and some British financial circles.

Devaluation—cheapening the pound in terms of dollars—would lower prices of British exports but force up prices of food and raw material imports and thus sharply cut the living standards of the workers. U.S. interference with the Argentine trade pact has already caused bitter resentment.

MARX TOO CLOSE: Washington, more concerned over the effect of Britain's predicament on the cold war than over a possible cut in British meat rations, was gloomily meditating, according to the **Times,** on the "Marxist prophecy" that "capitalist economies ultimately will be the victims of self-induced economic depressions." The fear is, said the **Times,** that this prophecy "may come a little too close to fact."

Glut and dole

BELGIAN shop windows are glutted with food and finery. Big restaurants supply six-course meals. The menu of the Canterbury Hotel in Brussels offers a choice of 30 meat dishes. But the number of unemployed in Belgium has jumped from almost zero in 1947 to 270,000 today. The unemployed man with a wife and two children gets in a week the cost of a single meal at the Canterbury.

For the first time in history Belgian women went to the polls on June 26. But the general election has stirred little interest. The two major parties—the Socialists and the Catholic Christian Social Party—have centered their campaigns on the question of collaborationist King Leopold's return (Catholics are for it, Socialists opposed). The real issue, Belgian's grave economic crisis resulting from the Marshall Plan, has been ignored.

People's theater

ASP Culture Center gets a fine start

By James Aronson

CULTURE thumbed its nose at the amalgamated book, celluloid and witch burners of Washington and Hollywood last Tuesday night. It took the form of the first performance of the new Cultural Center of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions before a packed house at Carnegie Hall in New York.

The ASP put on a dramatization by Arthur Laurents of Albert Maltz' novel, **The Journey of Simon McKeever**; and Marc Blitzstein's song-play, **I've Got A Tune**. It was a one-night stand, on the hottest night of the year—and it was wonderfully refreshing.

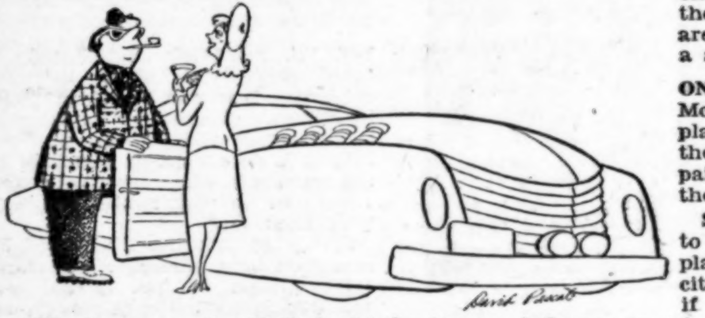
It was people's theater; on a bare stage, to be sure, and with amateur players mixing with professionals, but played with spirit for people who will settle for something less than a Milton Berle gag or a stageful of Broadway bilge at $9.60 a pair.

A NEW CHALLENGE: The new center was given a send-off in remarkably brief and interesting speeches by John Martin, dance critic of the **New York Times,** Donald Ogden Stewart, film writer, and Clark Foreman, former head of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. They said they hoped that in the near future the center would "provide on a year-round basis a medium through which can be presented new challenging work in the field of art, dance, film, music, theater, that will contribute toward a fuller cultural life for our country."

Simon McKeever, as you know, is the novel that was purchased by 20th Century-Fox, then shelved because Albert Maltz is one of the Hollywood Ten who told J. Parnell Thomas where he could go. Its theme, the search for human decency, is on its face unacceptable to the subversive elements who are peddling "democracy" in a swastika-covered wagon.

ON THE ROAD: The role of McKeever was sensitively played by Elliot Sullivan. The theme came through unimpaired by the condensation of the novel.

Simon McKeever will take to the road soon. The ASP plans to play it in several cities across the country, and if you'd like to put in a bid for your community, write to the National Council ASP, 49 W. 44th St., New York 18.



"Would you say that Hollywood is having any influence on you since you've switched from serious composition to background music?"

Pots and pocketbooks

Pickle a fish

By Charlotte Parks

ENGLISH literature is full of pickled fish. Lorna Doone's lover, Long John Ridd, prepared potted fish as a love gift, and Dickens fans will never forget Sairy Gamp and her favorite midnight repast of "pickled salmon and a bottle of whiskey to pick at when she was so disposed."

Pickled fish is economical and easy to prepare. A few jars on the shelf are a summer time-saver and appetite teaser. Equally good in winter, too.

Pickled Salmon

Place cold boiled salmon in a pint glass jar, add one tablespoon mixed pickling spices; cover with boiling vinegar, diluted with ⅓ water in which fish was cooked. Fill jar to overflowing and screw on the lid. Let stand three or four days before eating. This is delicious "as is" or in a salad. Fresh tuna is cheaper than salmon and may be treated the same way. It is a solid fish, with little bone, and even better fresh than in the familiar can.

Mackerel

This is one of the less expensive fish but like most, the bigger the better. And the proportion of bones, that bane of fish-eating, is less. Pickled mackerel is the epicure's delight. A large one, pickled whole and covered with aspic or mayonnaise on a bed of lettuce and gayly decorated with radish roses, olives and lemon sections, makes a beautiful centerpiece for a summer buffet luncheon or supper. It may be easily prepared in a shallow granite baking pan and shaped so that the tail and neck form a circle.

As an appetizer, pickled fish is a nice change from the regulation store pickled herring. If there is a fisherman in your family, pickling his superfluous catch is a splendid way of adding to your winter food supply. Fresh herring are particularly good treated this way. And just think what a wonderful opening for Dad's best fish stories!

If you want friends or acquaintances to see a sample of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, send us their names and addresses and we will send them free sample copies.

Books for Progressives

Freedom: Some like it fine—some don't

By Ralph Peterson

WITH commercial publishers scuttling for cover and confining their lists to safe subjects, much of today's worthwhile publishing is being done in pamphlets—one cent to one dollar in price. Here is a roundup:

Campus Inquisition

Academic Freedom Redefined, published by a local of the United Public Workers (CIO), is a terse summary of the new crop of academic freedom violations. To those who only get bits in the commercial press, the full list is long and alarming—and even then, most cases never reach print at all. Concentrating on the blatant cases, the pamphlet patterns a grim future if these scattered persecutions are allowed to pass; shows how joining the witch-hunt in even the smallest way means total compliance with it.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM REDEFINED. College Chapter, Teachers Union, UPW-CIO. (206 W. 15th St., New York 11.) 12 pp. 10c.

A socialist Socialist

Pamphlet and periodical is **World Events,** which comes four times a year from Scott Nearing, one old-time socialist who stayed with the ship and still fights socialism's real enemy. The Spring, 1949, issue contained an excellent piece on China, much of which has been borne out by ensuing events, and an analysis of the Mindszenty affair in Hungary. All the pieces show scholarship, grasp and foresight that put Nearing head and shoulders above former associates like Norman Thomas, who talk socialism while allying themselves with its avowed enemy.

WORLD EVENTS. Interpreted by Scott Nearing. (Published quarterly: World Events Committee, 125 Fifth St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.) $1 per year or 25c a copy.

Why not try?

Jerome Davis, former president of the Teachers Union (AFL)—one of many educators who found the bridge between their ivory towers and the living world in the 30's and stayed on it—has privately reprinted and revised his **Behind Soviet Power** (first issued 1946), which summarizes his tours through Eastern Europe in 1943 and 1947. He concludes a calm, non-hysterical account of his discussions with Soviet leaders, and his private observations of these lands, with a program for "getting along with the U.S.S.R." that could be incorporated into the work of many progressive organizations.

BEHIND SOVIET POWER. By Jerome Davis. Privately printed. (489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn.) 126 pp. $1.

From England comes a sensitive study of Russian history and the peculiar circumstances that led to her revolution and her present position in the world. Even conservative British reviewers recommended **Do You Really Know Russia?** for its honesty and thoroughness. Blair concludes his book with a summary of the reasons he feels we can live in the same world with the U.S.S.R., and the three words:

"Why not try?"

DO YOU REALLY KNOW RUSSIA? By Dorian Blair. Valiant Publishers, Ltd. (153 Fenchurch Street, London E.C. 3.) 54 pp. 2/6 net (50c).

Slightly dated

Citations is a book of sinister — and yet occasionally amusing — import. It's the original "Communist and Communist Front" list prepared by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Two revisions are in press.

What is alleged to be documentation follows the title of each organization. This usually boils down to a mutual admiration deal—one group of witch-hunters quotes another as authority. Everything from "Keynote Recordings" to "Vanguard Press" (the last now a highly respectable publishing house) is dubbed subversive. On page 103, in a list of alleged subversive groups, appears the word—"Wives". No comment.

At least one-tenth of the groups listed no longer exist, or existed for only brief periods a decade ago.

CITATIONS. House Committee on Un-American Activities. (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.) 144 pp. 30c.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Buying sewing machines

WHEN you pay a high price for a "rebuilt" sewing machine, make sure you're not getting one merely reconditioned. In recent years of sewing machine scarcity, many people have been misled into paying extra-high prices in the belief they were getting genuine rebuilts, according to policing agencies like the Better Business Bureaus and Federal Trade Commission.

A rebuilt machine is one that should have been completely disassembled and reconstructed, using replacement parts of the same make or type as those removed. The machine then should have been indelibly stamped "rebuilt" and should carry the name of the rebuilder; at the least, your bill should contain that statement.

A reconditioned machine merely has minor parts replaced.

MONEY BACK: There is also a good deal of malpractice in guarantees on new sewing machines as well as rebuilts. Note whether the manufacturer makes any significant exceptions to his purported "unconditional guarantee." If truly unconditional, you should be allowed to get your money back without question if you are dissatisfied.

Some people who have bought machines under the illusion they were fully guaranteed, later found they had to pay for parts or labor charges even within the life of the guarantee. Minimum guarantee you should insist on is one year's service for any necessary repair or replacement, with no charge for parts or labor.

TRY IT OUT FIRST: In rebuilt or reconditioned machines, experts consider the round-bobbin type preferable to long-shuttle machines. Also try the machine out in the store to make sure there's no excessive vibration or noise, especially if it's one that's been electrified from the old treadle type.

If you're uncertain of the reliability of the dealer, it's wise to call your local Better Business Bureau and ask whether there have been any recent complaints against him.

Low-cost tables

MORE and more smart people are making coffee, dining and other types of tables with plywood tops themselves, to avoid paying high store prices.

The big boon is that some lumberyards now stock a selection of precut legs, and will cut plywood tops to any size. A top 22x42 inches, typical desk or coffee table size, costs less than $3, while square tapered legs cost 55 to 75 cents for various thicknesses (Queen Anne legs cost more).

If you can't buy precut legs locally, one New York lumberyard that stocks them informs **Dollar Stretcher** it will sell them by mail, shipping f o.b. via Railway Express. The yard is Richardson & Dutt, 789 Third Ave., New York City.

Chicago dateline

Wild Bill Horsley — or, Get Out From Under That Thar Bed!

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

REP. G. WILLIAM HORSLEY represents the 45th District in the Illinois House. The tall, youthful, smooth-talking attorney also is general counsel for the independent Progressive Miners of America. He is reputedly a substantial shareholder in Springfield's Abraham Lincoln Hotel, noted for its jimcrow dining room which discriminates even against Negro members of the legislature.

Wild Bill, as he is sometimes called by his Springfield constituency, is a Republican. His political record was fairly colorless until mid-March, two months after the 66th Illinois Assembly convened. Then a group of students from various colleges and universities in the Chicago area descended on the capital to lobby against the Broyles "anti-subversive" bills.

Next day, Horsley introduced a resolution for a Broyles Commission investigation of "Communist activity" at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College.

THE LONG HAIRS: Horsley said: "These young people do not have the clean-cut American youth look. . . . You could spot these kids in the streets of Springfield by their long hair, shell-rimmed glasses and the way they wore their clothing." Horsley wears glasses — rimless, of course.

The resolution passed the House the day it was brought in. A week later, it was approved by the Senate, along with a $2,500 appropriation. Horsley told a Chicago radio audience March 20 that he would ask for an investigation of ALL Illinois schools "if someone can prove there is Communist activity at these schools."

Before the witchhunt began, the House Judiciary Committee, of which Horsley is a member, held its one-day hearing on the Broyles bills. Horsley master-minded the four-hour session, attended by 1,000 anti-Broyles lobbyists from trade union, church, civil rights and Progressive Party groups.

EXCEPT BROYLES: As each witness took the stand, Horsley demanded that he answer the question: "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" He made only one exception—Sen. Paul Broyles.

When John T. Bernard, former Minnesota congressman and now UE legislative director in Illinois, refused to answer the question, Horsley moved that Bernard be denied the right to testify. Motion carried. Horsley repeated the operation on Arthur Price, legislative director of the Illinois Civil Rights Congress.

Horsley voted for all five of the Broyles bills in committee.

Late in April, as the search for witches at the U. of Chicago neared its end, Horsley took the stand as a "surprise" witness. He produced samples of 50 handbills which had been posted on bulletin boards during the past several years to advertise meetings at which "Communist leaders or sympathizers" were to be speakers. He charged that the Young Republican Club of the U. of Chicago is Communist-dominated.

THROW HIM OUT! Not long afterward, Horsley appeared before the big Gillespie, Ill., local of the Progressive Miners of America to justify his witchhunt resolution. He argued that he was following the lead of Philip Murray and Walter Reuther in trying to "clean out the reds."

One of the miners rose to say, "We're not afraid of Communists, but we are afraid of redbaiters like you." Another pointedly asked if he wanted to question every member of the local on his political affiliations.

The local, with one dissenting vote, approved a resolution asking the international to dismiss Horsley as general counsel.

But Wild Bill rides on. At the annual Senate-House softball game early this month, members of both teams were handed red caps.

When the representative from the 45th District appeared on the field, he was wearing a white cap.

Report to readers

On a foundation for a free press

ON THIS brief vacation I fell to reading Dickens' "American Notes" one night, and some comments he made about the New York press of more than 100 years ago struck me as worth setting down here for comparison with the behavior of the press in our day.

"Good strong stuff," Dickens commented ironically, "dealing in round abuse and blackguard names, pulling off the roofs of private houses, pimping and pandering for all degrees of vicious taste, gorging with coined lies the most voracious maw; setting on, with yell and whistle and clapping of foul hands, the vilest vermin and the worst birds of prey."

Well, how fares our free press since Dickens' day?

Has it accepted the responsibility that goes with its freedom or does it still, today, coin lies, exploit private lives and "with yell and whistle and clapping of foul hands" encourage the worst elements in our society to viciousness, victimization and "vigilante" exploits which are indistinguishable in our time from the acts of fascism?

THIS is a purely rhetorical question. The Hearsts, the Scripps-Howards, the Patterson-McCormicks are distinguished by little else today than the same variety of journalistic licentiousness on which Dickens gagged.

But how about the rest?

The answers lie in your own local papers. How do they stand on freedom for labor on wages and prices, on housing, public health, war or peace, discrimination, equality of opportunity, academic freedom, political freedom?

In the main, to the extent of more than 90% of the readership served, on every one of these issues the press in this country (and throw in the radio too if you like) stands on the side of business and profit (i.e., the advertiser) as against the people.

The reason is not always the "foul hands." It is more likely a purely business matter. The U. S. press today exists principally as a service to business. In many cases the press itself is big business. It serves its own interests and those of the profit-taking class. When it ceases to serve those interests, it ceases to exist.

TAKE a test case, out in Flora, Ill., this spring. There the local "Sentinel" supported the strikers in a labor dispute with the Flora Public Utilities. Business ganged up. Advertisers pulled out. The bank called the mortgages and loans. Only quick rescue work by the Illinois labor movement bailed out the paper — for how long no one can say, for a paper which depends on advertising for existence cannot stay in business for long without it.

Thus our free press has become, not a free institution freely serving the people's needs, but rather some sort of boon extended to the readers (at a price) by the advertisers and business interests. If they pull out, the press falls flat — and its alleged freedoms with it.

The answer is a profit-free press, without the requirement of subservience to the demands of the business interests which subsidize our present press. There is no decent reason for the press to be a profit-making institution, nor the radio. Both are grants by the people. Both should exist solely for the interests of the people.

THIS is the age of "foundations." We see foundations for cancer research, for curbing heat, disease, for peace — for all manner of things in which our economic and political system has ignored the people's needs.

Now let us have a people's foundation for a free and responsible press; free of advertiser and business domination; free of concern over its own economic security; free of any restriction save only that of operating in the people's interest. And let all profits be turned back to the foundation, for further extension of a truly free and responsible press in America instead of a subsidized chain of house organs for greedy enterprise.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

West-Coast Wire

Flash! Sex edges reds off page one

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

KEEPING crime and communism out of Los Angeles was the burden of Mayor Fletcher Bowron's re-election platform and it worked. But last week the crime part of it was causing his administration extreme embarrassment.

Bowron's supposedly spotless police department, constantly accused of brutality by progressive and labor critics, was sweating out a new charge before the County Grand Jury.

Leading lady of the exciting post-election drama was Brenda Allen, comely Hollywood callhouse madam, jailed a year ago, who was screaming to the world that she'd paid plenty for protection and been double-crossed.

IT COMES HIGH: Her Grand Jury description of the ups and downs in the world's oldest profession hereabouts included the charge she had paid protection as high as $150 per girl per week to a couple of administrative vice squad members.

VICE SQUAD AT WORK

She specifically tied the No. 2 man in the squad into her titillating tale, and so did a couple of his colleagues.

The story, though kicking around town nearly a year, didn't see type until the day after election. This caused Bert Witt, spokesman here for the Independent Progressive Party, to ask questions.

Why had the story been held until after election? Why hadn't Bowron's administration move against the vice squad a year ago, when it was advised of the charges by local newspapermen? Where did the vice squad get off wire-tapping and making second-story entries without a warrant, as admitted before the Grand Jury? Are similar dubious practices employed against labor and progressive groups?

Witt also criticized the "whitewash" given every police brutality case brought before Bowron and the police department, and demanded a citizens' board of inquiry to investigate such complaints.

GONE FISHIN': Bowron took three steps: (1) he issued a statement asking for a "complete investigation" of graft charges; (2) went on an extended fishing trip; and (3) returned and asked the City Council to set up in his office a "Little FBI" to keep tab on his cops.

Bowron's notion to appoint a super-spy squad to function over police from his City Hall office drew sparks immediately from Edward R. Roybal, progressive-supported Mexican-American councilman-elect from the underprivileged Ninth District.

NO MORE WHITEWASH: Roybal, who was sworn into office last week, countered with a proposal for an elective civilians' commission to handle citizens' complaints against the Police Department and other public agencies.

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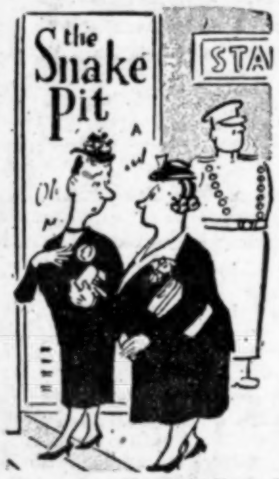
"One buck for honest news"

Cheesecake over Europe

Hollywood is strangling the foreign film makers

SINCE the war, critics all over the world have been raving over the films made in Italy, France and England. At the same time Hollywood has been busy excommunicating some of its best writers and directors as "reds," and its products have reached a new low in mediocrity.

But because of the U.S. movie industry's increasing monopoly stranglehold, you are unlikely to get a chance to see a European film; and even in the countries where they are made, these films are increasingly being pushed out of the theaters by Hollywood celluloid.



Reynolds News, London
"I didn't see any snakes."

Picket line Annie

In Rome, on the same day last February when the Pope called for the defense of Cardinal Mindszenty, a mass meeting of 15,000 to fight the U.S. film avalanche was addressed by Di Sicca, director of **Shoeshine**, the international star Anna Magnani and other top Italian film people. The Committee for Defense of the Italian Cinema demanded enforcement of the ignored 1947 law under which theaters are supposed to give native films 80 showing days a year.

A recent survey by the **Rome American** showed seven Italian pictures playing in Rome's 98 movie houses. Of the 864 foreign films imported in 1948, reports a GUARDIAN correspondent, 90% were American; some of them now playing are ten years old.

Italy is a lucrative movie market—some $75,000,000 were spent at the box offices last year. Of this amount the Italian industry drew 8%. Result of the Hollywood avalanche is spreading unemployment in the film industry, which employs over 50,000 people, on top of the serious unemployment in other industries.

Bosomy martyrs

Last spring the Vatican moved into the scene with grants of millions of lire for production of Christian Democrat propaganda films. It spent some $700,000 on the production of **Fabiola,** a film based on Cardinal Weizmann's **Life of the Saints.**

Director Blasetti gave the Vatican more than it asked for. There was, a French critic writes, "a little sex-appeal slipped into every scene": particularly the one where the Christian maidens—"with bosoms worthy of the Tabarin nightclub"—are devoured by lions.

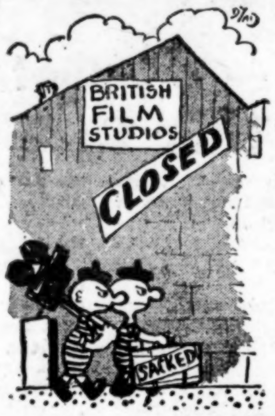
"Carried away by his subject — the most truly Christian of subjects," the critic adds, Blasetti ended not with Christian Democrat propaganda but with the Christian people demanding and then imposing peace. The Vatican was forced to condemn the film it had paid for.

Most Italians, GUARDIAN's correspondent notes, will admit that their own pictures are more artistic but prefer the slicker Hollywood product.

The "neo-realism" of a Rosselini does not offer them the escape of a technicolor world peopled by girls with mountainous breasts, where all the endings are happy; and Italians have plenty to escape from.

CINEMATOGRAFIA ITALIANA
ROMA
3.000 DISOCCUPATI DEL CINEMA
IL GOVERNO DEVE

In Rome Italian film workers demonstrate against unemployment in the industry and non-enforcement of the law guaranteeing the showing of Italian films.



London Worker
"Bang in the middle of the 'Britain Can Make It' series!"

In England the film industry is going through the worst slump in its history—for the same reasons as in Italy. By last March, 17 of 26 production studios had closed down, and 3,000 of 10,000 studio workers were unemployed. And this likewise at a time when British films are winning greater world prestige than ever.

The very success of British films, writes Gordon Schaffer from London, has made Hollywood determined to strangle a potential rival in world markets. U.S. monopolies see to it that British films rarely show outside side-street theaters in America. At the same time they fight by every means the British government's effort to stop U.S. films from draining dollars from Britain.

After Eric Johnston got permission to take out $17,000,000 (the rest of U.S. film concerns' money being frozen in Britain), a law was passed obliging theaters to show 40% of British films. This quota was never fully operated; more than half the theaters were given exemptions. And such is the monopoly structure of the British film industry (one man, J. Arthur Rank, controls 40% of studio space and the two biggest theater circuits) that theater owners are actually pressing the government to reduce the British showing-time quota to 33⅓%. In the interests of profits they are pleading with the government to admit still more U.S. films.

Murder in ERP Lane

With the money they can't take out, U.S. concerns are being encouraged to make films in British studios. The first one made by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was **The Conspirators,** an anti-Soviet picture starring "friendly" Committee on Un-American Activities witness Robert Taylor.

Faced with possible falling profits, banks and insurance companies that have financed British film production are refusing to advance any more money. The total picture is not unfamiliar in this Marshall Plan period. Hollywood aims at a bigger share in the British market by taking advantage of the British industry's financial difficulties; meanwhile it uses its cash reserves in Britain to take over an increasing share of actual British film production.

Hollywood is gaining a monopoly of the market in west Germany and is busy buying up theaters in France, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium. Like the French and Italian, the British film industry is being slowly strangled, and at the present rate it will not be long before Hollywood's massive brains dominate both production and exhibition of films throughout western Europe.

Art first in France

But for the time being, reports Stanley Karnow from Paris, French movie-makers doggedly continue to make their pictures cheaply and well. In France the movie medium is still widely considered as an art first, a business second. It attracts the best writers, actors and musicians. And the minimum of censorship permits freer creative activity than is possible under the Legion of Decency Hollywood code.

One thing the French won't stand for is a slight on the official national pride in foreign films. When Laurence Olivier's **Henry V** played the Paris circuits, Mistress Quickly's questionable "malady of France" was translated in the sub-title into "malady of Naples."

Paris definitely suffers from too much third-rate Hollywood celluloid (examples: **Slave Girl, Thrill of Romance, Tarzan and the Huntress**), and complains loudly. In a recent typical week 17 movies playing the big houses were American compared with 15 from all other sources. Weird effects are produced when these films are dubbed into French: Abbott and Costello talking corny **patois,** George Raft moving his lips long after the words are spoken, and assorted cowboys speaking with the accent of Marseille fishermen.

"Going to the movies" is far from a national pastime in France, but the younger generation, more conditioned by things American, is rapidly developing the habit. Old French stars like Francoise Rosay, Michel Simon and Jean Gabin are being replaced by pin-ups; Betty Grable is good for a front-page story almost any day in the week. Here as elsewhere, the export trade in U.S. bosoms is brisk, the market not yet glutted..

Iron curtain call

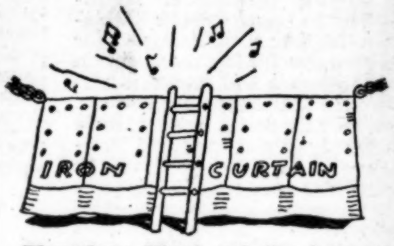
PRAGUE

In the mail this morning came a Ministry of Information program, suggesting cultural activities for journalists during the current week in this cultural desert behind the Iron Curtain.

Stand back and give us air! This was our program last week:

Tuesday: Shaw's **Saint Joan.** Would have been all right if we hadn't felt we must see the Polish film **Auschwitz** for the second time in the afternoon.

Wednesday: Parents and four kids heard the Polish chorus and ballet.



Thursday: Hired out the boys as baby sitters, parents sneaked off to hear Klemperer direct a Beethoven concert.

Friday: Parents saw Fadeyev's **Young Guard** film, boys saw **Alexander Nevsky,** girls saw Disney's **Gulliver.**

Saturday: made up lost ground on legit shows by seeing **Midsummer Night's Dream** matinee, Russian ballet in the evening.

Sunday: heard the remarkable Orthodox Church choir. Evening—**Traviata** at the opera.

Monday: afternoon — Laughton's **Henry VIII** film; evening—Leslie Howard in **Pimpernel Smith.**

—**George Wheeler**

A calendar of things to do

New York

JUNE 28. Civil Rights Rally at Madison Sq. Garden. Speakers: Paul Robeson, Albert Maltz, C. B. Baldwin, Eugene Dennis, Reid Robinson, Bessie Mitchell, William L. Patterson. Auspices: CRC. Tickets: 60c to $2.40 at CRC Office, 23 W. 26 St., Local 65 Bookstore, 13 Astor Place.

JULY 16-17. National Bill of Rights Conference. Sponsored by Paul J. Kern, former Civil Service Commissioner of New York, and outstanding figures in education, law, the church and the arts. At the Henry Hudson Hotel. For registration: write, phone, wire Paul J. Kern, 11 W. 32 St., CHickering 4-4628 - 3673.

Midwest

JUNE 28. Tenants Council picket line around Federal Housing Expediter's Office, 226 W. Jackson St., where Cook County Rent Advisory Board meeting will consider landlords' plea for 45% rent boost.

JULY 4TH WEEKEND. Walt Whitman Lodge, Waupaca, Wisc. Discussion series on American history led by Ira Kipnis, University of Chicago history instructor.

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